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EDUCATIONAL SCHEMES AND REFORMERS IN ENGLAND

DURING THE EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

BY



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ABSTRACT

After a brief survey of the historical background, political, social, religious and educational, this study explores the ideals of some of the reformers who contributed to the educational excitement of the early seventeenth century. Investigated are the attitudes and aspirations of the three reformers, Hartlib, Dury and Comenius, together with their impact on educational thinkers of the period. Particular attention is then given to the ideas of Clarendon, a Royalist, as expressed in his Dialogue . . . Concerning Education, a tract which appears to be unknown to historians of education, and also to the well-known views of Milton, a Parliamentarian, whose writings on education are here discussed within the context of his distinctive Christian humanism. The thesis in its entirety thus examines seventeenth-century education in its political, social and religious setting, offers some reasons for the outpouring of educational proposals between 1640 and 1660 and the lack of action that ensued, and ultimately finds a unity in the religious orientation of the various schemes suggested by the reformers studied.

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CHAPTER I

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

During the first half of the seventeenth century, England was experiencing a period of change in politics, social life and religion. Within these areas of change, there were interaction and conflict, religion at first having the strongest voice, because Church and State were so closely bound together. It is impossible to discuss the politics or the social life of the period without reference to religion, for much of what was said and done was in one way or another connected with religious life. Prior to 1603 the firm control of the Tudors had given the English scene an appearance of stability, but under the surface there was already growing unrest, particularly among politicians in the House of Commons, where members were developing in wealth and ability. With the death of Elizabeth and the accession of James VI of Scotland to the throne of England, the House of Commons felt freer to assert itself.

The balance of power had already begun to shift from the Crown to Parliament in Elizabeth's reign.¹ James and Charles failed to realise or accept this. They both also lacked the Tudor flair for arousing popular support, though James I, unlike his son, Charles, did manage to maintain some kind of balance that held in check the constitutional conflict which was to reach its climax when the stubborn resistance

¹J.W. Allen, English Political Thought 1603-1660, Vol. I. 1608-1644 (London, 1938), pp. 41-43.

of Charles, who was determined at any cost to retain the powers which by long-standing tradition belonged to the monarch, was check-mated by the equally strong desire of Members of Parliament to take the reins of power into their own hands.

As there was no written constitution, most disputes had been satisfactorily settled on the basis of tradition and/or Common Law; but "tradition" was an elastic term, and the law was not clearly defined, either. There had always been a delicate balance to be maintained between King and Parliament: the King controlled administration of the country, but Parliament could refuse the necessary supplies; Parliament controlled legislation, but the King could refuse assent. Further, foreign policy, decisions regarding war and peace and direction of Church affairs, were regarded as the monarch's responsibility; here again, however, Parliament controlled the King's revenues to a great extent. The ultimate cause of the Civil Wars was the deadlock created, once the members of the House of Commons began to assert themselves. When the opposition to the monarchy grew stronger, refusal to vote funds was used as a kind of blackmail to force the King to relinquish his powers little by little.

The monarch had ruled the country only because he had the loyalty and support of both the Lords and the High Churchmen in the Upper House. After the Reformation, with a populace growing ever more literate and questioning, and with the changes that resulted from economic growth, the old, loosely-knit form of government no longer worked smoothly. Men concerned about the rifts that were opening between the various factions involving the Crown, the Law, Parliament and the Church,

were seriously examining the political scene, but it was not until between 1625 and 1640 that there was "a considerable change in men's political outlook."² As it became clearer that the political structure might well separate from the religious aspects of life in England, a new approach seemed increasingly important. The problem was threefold: first, whether the country should be ruled by the monarch, by the judges, or by some kind of parliamentary body; second, if a parliament was to govern, by what means it should be selected; and third, the place of the Church in national affairs.

Traditionally, the monarch, as head of the Church, was also regarded as head of the State; but Sir Edward Coke, who had formerly been "a forceful prosecutor and upholder of the prerogative,"³ believed that James had contravened the law in his use of the prerogative. Coke found he could prove to the satisfaction of himself and others that it was the law that assigned to the King his powers. Many lawyers, with Coke, saw the turning of the tide, and they accepted and promoted the curtailment of the power of the King. They believed that the law was supreme, and that government should be based on that principle. While Coke, "the loud-mouthed champion of the common law,"⁴ would have the law above King and Parliament, as the final voice in any disagreement, Francis Bacon believed "that good government consisted in maintaining the royal prerogative intact."⁵ The Church, meanwhile, was concerned

²ibid., p. 49.

³Stuart E. Prall, ed., The Puritan Revolution: A Documentary History (New York, 1968), p. 307.

⁴C.V. Wedgwood, The King's War (Manchester, 1958), p. 127.

⁵Maurice Ashley, England in the Seventeenth Century (London, 1967), p. 51.

that God's law and the canons of the Anglican Church should be upheld, and enforced, if need be. Church leaders wanted the governing of the country to follow from the cardinal principle that initially all power and authority came from God. Their support of the King, rather than Parliament, stemmed from the "paternal theory", that as the father was head of the family, so the King was head of the nation. Also, in their efforts to combat the Puritans on one side, and the Roman Catholics on the other, they knew they had greater opportunities to advance the cause of the Anglican Church through an alliance with the King rather than with Parliament.

The constitutional conflict began when James attempted to extend his prerogatives. He needed money to finance his foreign policies, some of which were very good and deserving of better treatment than they received from a suspicious Parliament. James claimed the right to impose customs duties by proclamation without the consent of the Houses, on the ground that foreign affairs had always been the monarch's responsibility. Further, he forbade the Commons to debate his right to impose such taxes.⁶ He also claimed that he had the right to disregard the law, when in his judgment the general welfare of the country made it necessary. Apparently Bacon agreed with this, for he would "allow to the king a power of disregarding the law to an indefinite extent so long as it was exercised in the public interest."⁷ Parliament counter-claimed that the Petition of Right made loans and taxes not granted by Parliament

⁶Allen, p. 7.

⁷ibid., p. 56.

illegal, and that in the House they must have freedom of speech. James, "the wisest fool in Christendom," never did understand the English. He did, however, understand the Scots and so was able to keep the Scottish Parliament under his thumb by playing off the nobles, whose support he was careful to retain, against the church leaders. In spite of his disagreements with Parliament, "his was by no means an inglorious reign which passed on the whole in peace and prosperity".⁸ There was a definite deterioration in the whole situation, when James, tired of the struggle, more or less handed over his responsibilities to Buckingham, who was probably the most incompetent statesman ever to sit at the head of English affairs.

The position worsened after James died in 1625, for Charles made no effort to rectify his complete lack of understanding of both English and Scots. He precipitated disaster by dogmatically following his own ideals, riding rough-shod over the opinions of all who disagreed with him. An explosive situation was bound to develop when determined, ambitious men, holding opposing views, happened on the scene at the same time. Such men were Charles and John Pym. Charles supplied the tinder when he reversed his father's wise policies in Scottish affairs. The Scots had little to lose, and they never forgave Charles for his non-appearance in Scotland at the time of his coronation and thereafter. If the Bishops' Wars did nothing else, they certainly brought home to Charles the hard fact that his powers were indeed limited, that without Parliament, he was in effect powerless. Nevertheless, he continued to pursue his goals, refusing to consider the interests of the country

⁸Ashley, p. 55.

or seriously to discuss suggested reforms. In his efforts to gain time, which was all he decided was required to acquire the support, financial and otherwise, that he needed, he allowed his two staunchest supporters, Strafford and Laud, to be put to death, merely commenting that "the murder of the Archbishop by Parliament might well be held in Heaven to wipe out his own guilt for having consented to the death of Strafford".⁹ But the tide did not turn in his favour. It was a new age, with new ideas, new loyalties, new values. By the end of the Second Civil War, Parliament and the New Model Army, now a real force, concluded that Charles left them no alternative but to rid the country of him. The sad truth was that no one really wanted the King's death, but, after several abortive attempts the possibility of a fair settlement seemed hopeless. Charles had been underhand, devious, completely untrustworthy; he would do anything to retain his powers. Its patience exhausted, the army finally prevailed upon Parliament to take the irreversible step: Charles was beheaded.

After the holocaust of the Civil Wars, Cromwell "alone remained to conduct the government and to save the country".¹⁰ A man of contradictory traits, he was capable of swift decisions on the battle-field, but in the arena of politics his mind "worked slowly and deliberately."¹¹ As a Puritan he was humane, believing in tolerance and "that every man had a right and a duty to find his own way to God."¹² He did not seek power,

⁹Wedgewood, p. 378.

¹⁰John Milton, Complete Poems and Major Prose, ed. Merritt Y. Hughes, (New York, 1957), p. 834.

¹¹Maurice Ashley, Oliver Cromwell and the Puritan Revolution (London, 1958), p. 75.

¹²Wedgewood, p. 202.

but strove to reconcile the various factions. Yet he became "without question the most powerful man in England"¹³ after the death of the King, and he wielded his authority with inflexible force at times, for he found Parliament as intractable as James and Charles had done. The Rump was set on seeking greater powers; the Saints rushed headlong into reforms without any consideration of the consequences; his third government based on "The Instrument of Government" refused to cooperate. Cromwell "had a sincere dislike for military dictatorship",¹⁴ but with an imminent Royalist rising to contend with, he dissolved Parliament and set up the Major-Generals to police the land. This was a military-type operation that he could handle. Unfortunately it was a self-defeating step, for it took him further from any hope of instituting a stable government. He ruled the nation for a decade, and at the end the way was clear for a relatively peaceful restoration, for "before his death the old monarchy had been largely restored in all but name."¹⁵

While King and Commons were sparring, most people remained ignorant of the true nature of the political conflict. The power struggle was outside the scope of their interest, and for the most part, their understanding. This was not surprising, when in contemporary writings the various connotations given such terms as "sovereignty," "power" and "government" led to all kinds of confusions among the political theorists of the day. The people did not concern themselves much with such matters. Many medieval traditions and customs were still accepted as valid, when

¹³Prall, p. 308.

¹⁴George H. Sabine, A History of Political Theory (New York, 1955), p. 480.

¹⁵Prall, p. 309.

by the beginning of the seventeenth century, they were, in fact, already outmoded. Thus most Englishmen still followed the old orthodoxy which bound Church, Crown and State so closely together that they seemed inseparable. Some of them, however, were growing aware of the fact that the King was interfering with their rights as citizens. They were beginning to realise that Hooker was wrong to insist that all were compelled to obey the established Church, hence the King, and that they had no right to rebel or protest.¹⁶ On the other hand, the possible validity of the view, stated by Buchanan in 1579, that as power was derived from the community, so it should function within the law of the community, held stronger appeal.¹⁷

Historians have little to report on the lives of those men who belonged to the lower strata of society, but skilled labourers and tradesmen were becoming more vocal, as they grew more aware of their rights under the law. Coke had given little thought to the people, as such; the scope of his ideas was narrowed to the Crown, the Courts and Parliament. He did claim that as the law assigned to the King his powers, it also decided the rights and privileges of the people. The man in the street was surprisingly conversant with the law: a visit to court was a cheap way to spend an entertaining hour or two.¹⁸ Many came to view the law as "a servant or guard but not a master,"¹⁹ as Coke would have

¹⁶Sabine, pp. 439 ff.

¹⁷*ibid.*, p. 384.

¹⁸"The administration of English law was a familiar, instructive and entertaining spectacle in the midst of ordinary life."
Wedgewood, p. 129.

¹⁹Wedgewood, p. 130.

it. A better educated and increasingly affluent middle class was beginning to realise that the people should be more fully represented and thus have a fairer share in deciding policies and shaping legislation. The absolute monarch, if any monarch had ever been truly absolute, had played his role, and the people were ready for change in the form of government. The non-noble landowning group and the commercial class had been gaining greater power in new functions in local government. There seems to be no doubt that, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there were indeed a rising gentry and a declining nobility, though why and how extensive remains a moot point.²⁰ Zagorin's claim that the English social structure was being broadly redistributed during these centuries supports this contention.²¹ Some gentry "rose" by purchasing land, often from impoverished nobles, or by marrying into a noble family whose financial problems were eased by a handsome marriage settlement.

The idea of a hierarchical society, clearly defined in medieval days, was still accepted, though the structure was already crumbling. The select few were being joined by the increasingly competent many, and as well as a rising gentry there was an expanding middle class, men of a good standing, hard-working, skilled. These men were becoming more interested in how the country was governed. The Commons, the Church, the Law, and the King were concerned about who should have the power to control the country. The people were more interested in and increasingly vocal about taxation, religious freedom, and the abuse of the law.

²⁰J.H. Hexter, Reappraisals in History (London, 1961), p. 149.

²¹L. Stone, Social Change and Revolution in England 1540-1640 (Longmans, 1965), p. 49.

Impositions and taxation were becoming unbearable. The letter of the law was enforced at every opportunity, but the spirit of the law was sadly neglected. The injustices of the Church Courts, which, for example, could fine a man for not living with his wife, when in fact he had been away looking for work to support his family; the iniquities of the Court of High Commission, established in 1580 to control the Puritan radicals and enforce ecclesiastical discipline; the Star Chamber and the other prerogative courts which coerced men into political conformity; and excommunication, which had become an instrument to empty men's purses and advance the greatness of the prelates - all strengthened the opposition to and the protest against conditions.²² Trevor-Roper suggests that in the seventeenth century there was a wider, vaguer, and probably more general crisis, quite apart from the obvious immediate one caused by the constitutional conflict, "that it was a crisis in the relations between society and the State."²³

The local church had been the centre of community life, but after the Reformation, secular activities tended to move out from the church. Local administration developed as its responsibilities grew. Initially, its most important duty was the administration of the Poor Laws, established to replace a function no longer carried out by the church; but before long the emphasis moved to collection of taxes.²⁴ This gradual increase in power and ability in local government followed

²²Christopher Hill, Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England (London, 1964), p. 357.

²³H.R. Trevor-Roper, Religion, the Reformation and Social Change (London, 1967), p. 55.

²⁴Hill, p. 430.

the similar trend at higher levels of government. But English political philosophy was in its infancy, and the voice of the masses still a small one. The man in the street had little hope of altering the existing structure; there were no easy solutions. However, ordinary men were bound to be moved to action of some kind, when it became impossible to accept the unjust application of the law and the dictatorial direction of church leaders.

Religion and religious issues were a common concern, and the changes in the Church, together with the altered attitudes to religion among all levels of society, affected politics, social life, and education. The religious wars in Europe had stimulated fresh interest in the theory of democratic government. The struggle of the French Calvinists against the Catholic monarchy led to serious debate on the right of the people to delegate power. The fight for religious freedom created greater opposition to and more active questioning of the monarchy, the royal prerogative and James' development of the idea of Divine Right. It had long been accepted that citizens owed a duty of passive obedience to the King, and the Church leaders knew that such ideals and traditions had to be maintained and strengthened, for they feared the Church would lose the control it had been able to exercise in its close association with the governing body. Without such control, they believed that the moral standards of the country would collapse. While no Church leader claimed for the King Divine Right in the sense that James and Charles used the term, as giving the King absolute power and unquestioned authority, it was accepted that the King was divinely appointed. The emphasis was, however, on duty: the duty of subjects to obey authority,

the duty of the King to see that God's precepts and laws were practised.²⁵ The Church had been able to impose its authority and indoctrinate the people with the necessary attitudes and beliefs through the medium of the weekly service. Often sermon content was directed by the King,²⁶ and what the people learned about affairs throughout the country was thereby controlled to some extent. The sermon was often the main news medium of the poorer classes and their source of information and ideas. Also, the sermon, in replacing the confessional, became the source of guidance on moral and social conduct.²⁷

There was, however, a growing tendency to refer directly to the Bible rather than to the clergy for explanation and guidance. In the aftermath of the Reformation, the leaders of the various sects realised that the right to resist was crucial to their religious freedom. They sought and found a number of precedents and arguments to back up their claim to this right. John Knox had argued convincingly - and against Calvinistic teaching, which advocated at most passive resistance - that when a king contravened God's law, it was a Christian duty to act against him.²⁸ On the other hand, such passages as Romans 13.1,2 supported the king's claim: "Let every soul be subject unto the highest powers ... the powers that be are ordained by God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God."

Was the Church under the guidance of the King necessarily the

²⁵Allen, p. 101.

²⁶Hill, p. 35.

²⁷ibid., p. 33.

²⁸D.M. Wolfe, Milton in the Puritan Revolution (New York, 1963), p. 11.

sovereign power ordained by God? Or was it possible that sovereign power lay with the people? Because property ownership was still used as the deciding factor in granting the franchise, a large segment of the population, many of them the industrious sort, the economic backbone of the country, were ineligible to vote. When Parliament, under the leadership of Pym, abolished the Court of High Commission and the Prerogative Courts, the printers, relieved thereby of the fear of prosecution, let their presses roll, making available to many information and ideas that only the few had previously been able to obtain. The religious groups and the budding political parties were not slow to exploit this, and their beliefs and goals were published, circulated, discussed. During this period, after 1640, "religious enthusiasm and political idealism so swept English thought" that tracts poured from the presses.²⁹ The general public became conversant with new approaches, and familiar with ideas regarding individual freedom and their rights as citizens. The Levellers, who held the most advanced views on the rights of individuals, advocated separation of property and political rights: all men, no matter what their social or financial status, should be allowed to vote. Freedom in religious matters should be extended to all, including Roman Catholics. Men like Lilburne and Overton, through their writings and personal contacts, were in large measure responsible for opening the eyes of many to what was the birthright of every Englishman. Cromwell was more capable than most of his compatriots of appreciating such high ideals, for "his sharp Puritan creed was

²⁹Ashley, England in the Seventeenth Century, p. 108.

softened by tolerance and humane understanding;"³⁰ but even he had difficulty reconciling the apparent validity of the democratic - type ideals of the Levellers with his own very practical view of things as they were at that time, together with his problem of finding "workable solutions."³¹ To put such ideals into practice then, was out of the question; there was too much expected too quickly, and it was much too early for such sweeping reforms.

In the meantime the Church was attempting to better, or at least hold, its position. After the Reformation some laws were drawn up by the Church to guide the nation towards conformity. As dissension grew, and groups began to form outside the Anglican Church, these regulations were made more rigid and were more strictly enforced. In 1604, James, who wanted one doctrine, one discipline, one religion, decided to rely on Bancroft to apply the new canons intended to settle and define Church law. James did not let him complete his work, dismissing him in favour of Abbott; but in fact with the Restoration in 1660, the Church of England, as Bancroft had envisaged it, came to the fore strongly.³² From 1633 onwards, Laud endeavoured to enforce complete conformity in all walks of life. Laud had the support of Charles and of many minor officials who lined their own pockets when imposing fines for all sorts of petty infractions. Where Laud needed the strongest support, that help was weakest. The curates employed by the pluralists were often uneducated, frequently incompetent and little respected.

³⁰Ashley, Cromwell, p. 25.

³¹Wolfe, p. 40.

³²Allen, p. 126.

The best of the clergy (and many of them were first-rate, well-educated scholars) could survive financially only by taking charge of a number of churches, which they could not possibly serve themselves. Hence the need to employ so many poorly-qualified substitutes. According to Whitgift, who was archbishop when James came to England, "there were not 600 benefices out of 9,000 in England and Wales where the stipends were sufficient for the support of a learned man."³³ Laud was aware of this sad state of affairs, and tried "to recruit better men into the ministry and to restore the finances of a church which had been progressively plundered and disendowed for nearly a century."³⁴ In this his ideas were close to those of Bancroft; but his predecessor was Abbott, and this was unfortunate, since Abbott had been "non-ecclesiastical, wide and companionable" in his approach.³⁵ Because of the inadequacy of curates, more and more parishes hired "lecturers" or lay preachers, often men dismissed from the ministry for non-conformity. These men were listened to and respected in a way the curates could not hope to equal. The result was the undermining of Laud's policies. But Laud had already isolated himself from the Court,³⁶ and had become a thorn in the flesh of Parliament, who decided to get rid of him. His death, on a trumped-up charge of popery, solved nothing. Fear of the return of Roman Catholicism was general, but like wheels within wheels, the Presbyterians were afraid of Anglicanism and the Independents grew to dislike Presbyterianism.

³³Ashley, England in the Seventeenth Century, p. 29.

³⁴Wedgewood, p. 378.

³⁵D. Mathew, The Age of Charles I (London, 1951), p. 104.

³⁶ibid.

In all these groups could be found men who regarded themselves as "Puritan", a vaguely-defined, loosely-used term. Henry Parker finds and defines a number of uses of the term, and Christopher Hill shows how its meaning altered.³⁷ There were Puritans, whose main concern was with Church policy: they hoped for reform within the State Church. There were Puritans whose main concern was a personal, independent religion: until 1640, they, too, hoped to stay within the State Church. After 1640 both these groups tended to separate from the Church - to become Separatists. There were political Puritans: men who sought to change the structure of the government of the State. And lastly, there were those for whom morality was the driving force of religious conviction. By 1643 the term for many was synonymous with an opponent of the Court. But to Vicars in 1644 the Puritans included "all that were zealous for the laws and liberties of the kingdom and for the maintenance of religion".³⁸ Even during the period of the Puritan Revolution, then, there was confusion over the proper use of the term. Though normally used in a religious sense, it was also applied to certain political views or social attitudes.

What caused the crisis in England in the seventeenth century remains a subject of great debate for historians, but there seems some agreement that certain issues undoubtedly contributed to the crisis or were part of the general cause. A shift in the balance of power from

³⁷Parker is mentioned in Hill, p. 20. The first chapter of this book (pp. 13-29) is entitled "The Definition of a Puritan." On the difficulty of this topic, see also Basil Hall, "Puritanism: The Problem of Definition," in Studies in Church History, Volume II, ed. G.J. Cuming (London, 1965), pp. 283-96.

³⁸Quoted in Hill, p. 28.

Crown to Parliament began in Elizabeth's reign or earlier. This shift was followed by a change in attitude in the House of Commons. While the parties concerned were hardly conscious of it around 1628, the wish to gain power was growing among Members of Parliament. The will to control public policy gradually became equally strong on both sides. Parallelling changed attitudes at top government level between 1603 and 1640, the dominant classes and local ruling officials became more aware of and united against the King's theory of taxation. The King was therefore on the defensive against the House of Commons, and the union of the dominant classes made his position and claims progressively more difficult to maintain. The people had too long regarded the sovereign as necessary, and had thought in terms of the power of the sovereign rather than in terms of their own rights as citizens. However, as the balance of power at the top moved from King to Parliament, a similar change took place in society in general. The nobility, no longer required to retain forces, lost a hold over the King, and in consequence became more dependent upon royal favours; the influence of the great families began to decline. The Reformation, working like yeast in a dough, stimulated people to think for themselves, and ideas of where the people's loyalties lay began to change. With the formation of the New Model Army and the complications that followed its victory, the people gained an insight into the power they could wield, if they united on any issue. Yet after the furore and activity, apparent in the first half of the seventeenth century, there was a drop, a lowering of interest, almost an avoidance of controversial issues that contrasts sharply with the exciting earlier period.

This was no less true of interest in educational matters.

During a period that seemed to hold great promise of success, many men, deeply concerned about education, earnestly sought reforms. But the pregnant moment passed, and the reformers' hopes faded. At the beginning of the century, life in England was still dominated by medieval traditions, but by 1660 it had moved more than half-way to becoming modern.³⁹ Indeed, the seventeenth century is frequently referred to as the threshold of the modern world. The speed of the transformation somewhat parallels that of the advances in science and technology in the twentieth century. Many accepted standards and beliefs were either completely overthrown or very strongly challenged. Reforms in politics, religion and education were advocated or demanded. The shifts in religious and political views contributed to and controlled the changes in education.

During the reign of Elizabeth, 1558-1603, several preliminary advances were made, culminating in the Poor Laws of 1601, which made compulsory the educating of all children, male and female, at least to the extent of their learning some useful trade. This political move was necessary because the removal of the religious institutions, which had taken care of the poor, and the increase in the number of persons requiring assistance as a result of the changes in industry and trade, forced the government to make some provision for the needy. The principles behind these laws laid the seed for general taxation for the provision of education. By the time of the Interregnum, the idea of state aid for education was beginning to take root, for men like Dury, Petty and

³⁹Douglas Bush, English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century 1600-1660 (Oxford, 1945), p. 1.

Harmar were explicitly advocating it.⁴⁰ Other legislation, bearing on matters educational, was closely associated with the desire of the Church to continue to control education. A 1558 ruling that Non-Conformists could not graduate was not withdrawn until 1871. The control over who should be allowed to teach was enforced by laws which gave Bishops the right to license teachers, by threat of imprisonment of those teachers who did not sign a declaration to conform, and by such restrictive acts as the Five Mile Act.⁴¹ Many of these laws were ignored or circumvented by the opening of private schools, just as lecturers were hired to fill a gap left by the inadequate clergy. "Lecturers were appointed to give what they wanted to congregations whose educational standards and demands were rising."⁴² During the years of the Protectorate, discipline and control in schools and universities improved, but the number of students dropped sharply, because so many refused to conform. The political climate set the scene for education for all, but the controls enforced for religious purposes held back the progress of education in a number of ways.

⁴⁰Margaret James, Social Problems and Policy During the Puritan Revolution 1640-1660 (London, 1966), p. 320.

⁴¹The terms preacher and schoolmaster were regarded as more or less synonymous because most preachers were also teachers. See Foster Watson, "The State and Education during the Commonwealth," English Historical Review, XV (1900), 70. The Five Mile Act (1665) prohibited dissenting preachers from living or visiting within five miles of any place where they had previously worked. See Ashley, England in the Seventeenth Century, p. 126. For other, and earlier, restrictions, see W.A.L. Vincent, The State and School Education, 1640-1660, In England and Wales (London, 1950), p. 12.

⁴²Hill, p. 80.

The tide, however, had begun to change, and the Church, even with the power of the government behind it, could not stop the flow. The Church had been responsible for education up to this time. Now there was a real danger that it might lose all say in education. Even in the sixteenth century middle-class Englishmen were teaching "at grammar schools which merchants had founded in order to free education from clerical control."⁴³ The desire for freedom of thought and liberty in religious matters made the impositions of the Church intolerable. With the advance in "real" knowledge, with the new approach to nature, science and learning, more people were doubting, questioning and demanding to be allowed to understand the Scriptures, rather than to be told what to believe. This new drive for intellectual understanding, the new independence the Reformation offered, proved to be good for education. The wish of people to read for themselves led to wider use of the vernacular and to a greater emphasis on the teaching of reading and writing of English. To avoid losing control of education and to propagate their own doctrines, the various sects set up their own schools. As a result, religious influence is still felt in English schools today.

The religious, political and social influences upon education were so closely interwoven it is difficult at times to separate them. The social life of the people had been so closely linked with the Church that the Reformation and the resulting changes opened doors to a new way of life. With the advent of the printing press, reading had become not merely a tool for learning for the fortunate few, but a pleasure

⁴³Christopher Hill, Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution (Oxford, 1965), p. 7.

available to many. The advances in science and the altered emphasis in industry and trade had created a need for a greater number of properly trained, efficient members of society. To fill this need more people had to be given some kind of formal education. There was a growing realisation that schools should "be looked upon as the main foundation of a Reformed Commonwealth."⁴⁴ The reformers were more than ready to suggest the best ways to provide a cultured, educated society. Pamphlets appeared demanding a more practical education. These suggestions and demands helped to pave the way to a broader curriculum, a more practical emphasis in learning, and the use of the scientific method of learning.

With the government and the Church interested in education for their respective reasons, and with society's heightened awareness of the value of education for all and for the individual, it is not surprising that there was a parallel surge of interest on the part of educators. Several of these made valuable contributions to education, but much of what they said was ignored, until with the passing of time the worth of their ideas was recognised.⁴⁵ Indeed, the active interest expressed by political, religious, social and educational factions during this period should have led to great developments in education, particularly in schools and universities. What in fact did happen? The activity was so varied and the values in education so divergent that it is difficult to pinpoint the main features or aims of education in this era. The tremendous leap in knowledge, especially in science, mathematics and technology,

⁴⁴James, p. 315.

⁴⁵ibid., p. 344.

led to a much wider and growing interest in these areas; but religious intervention held back the growth of these subjects in formal education. The Church "had a monopoly of thought-control and opinion-forming. It controlled education; it censored books."⁴⁶ The humanistic influence with its emphasis on the learning of foreign languages, was still strong, so vigorous that even the realists in their efforts to reform education and guide it towards a more vocational orientation were restrained and conservative towards actual alterations. The trend was towards a broader curriculum in schools, formal education for all and the use of the vernacular; but the type of school determined the educational aims, which in turn determined the subjects taught. The objective of the denominational schools was a religious one, which, in varying degrees, limited the curriculum. Private schools, opened mainly by Non-Conformist schoolmasters, were able to use books and introduce subjects often banned in schools dominated by religious doctrines.

Formal education was in the beginning an extension of the informal education of the home, and originally its main concern was a religious one. That the Church's contribution to education in England was a substantial one is not to be denied. However, by the seventeenth century, its conservatism was a taut rein restraining educational reform, particularly in England, where the change from Roman Catholicism to Anglicanism was relatively painless. "The discouraging intellectual climate of the Laudian era"⁴⁷ held in check the flow of ideas for educa-

⁴⁶Hill, Society and Puritanism, p. 32.

⁴⁷Hill, Intellectual Origins, p. 96.

tional reform until 1640, when "King" Pym reigned in the House of Commons. Between 1640 and 1660, and especially under Cromwell's rule, "came the climax of a growing enthusiasm for education."⁴⁸ By the period of 1600-1688, it was possible to receive one of several types of education--or none at all. The closing of the nunneries by Henry VIII had done little to further formal education for girls, who were educated mainly at home--though a few were fortunate enough to have private tutors, an arrangement common enough for boys of a certain class. Girls' schools were established in the reign of James I, but these taught almost entirely the social accomplishments of the day. Petty Schools, which provided instruction in the "three Rs", were the only schools where girls and boys were treated equally. These schools trained for vocation purposes. The grammar schools were strongly humanistic, and trained mainly for university entrance. The universities were still fettered by scholasticism. English education has not yet succeeded completely in freeing itself from those class distinctions evident in this period when education of the rich was completely different from that of the less favoured. It was not until after 1670 that elementary schools began to increase in number and to appear in other than well-populated areas.

Although the Reformation helped education in some ways, it hampered its progress in others, but the ultimate effect was beneficial. The new faith in education as the panacea for all society's ills was indicated in the increased endowments, in the upsurge of enthusiasm among the middle classes, who had gained in strength and power, in the Puritan

⁴⁸James, p. 314.

revolt, and in the number of schools that were opened. The seventeenth century was a very active period in the history of education, but for all the activity, changes were made slowly. Many of the reforms that were advocated during the period were later tried out and proved of value. Formal education seldom progresses by leaps or bounds, and probably slow advances help to sustain and stabilize school systems. Moreover, education is inseparable from the social structure and the two interact, the one upon the other. In the seventeenth century there were so many warring elements that the great strides made possible by such men as Comenius were for the most part left to later, less disturbed times.

CHAPTER II

EDUCATIONAL FERMENT, 1640-1660

The ways in which the Reformation hampered education were rather over-emphasised by early historians, such as A.F. Leach, whose English Schools at the Reformation was published in 1896. Leach was largely responsible for disseminating the idea that the crisis in religion necessarily was followed by a drastic disruption of schools and schooling, because education was entirely under Church control. In fact, however, as Joan Simon, working with a great deal of new evidence, has conclusively shown in Education and Society in Tudor England (Cambridge, 1966), this was far from being the case. "Chantry commissioners of the 1540s were engaged in much the same kind of undertaking as the charity commissions of three centuries later . . . [and] state intervention in English education" had already begun.¹ A major change begun during the Reformation was the development of a system of schools administered by local government bodies.² Since merchants and yeomen were also active in founding schools,³ it seems likely that there were at least as many newly-endowed schools as there were schools closed during the Reformation.

¹Joan Simon, Education and Society in Tudor England (Cambridge, 1966), Preface, vii.

²ibid., p. 291.

³T.L. Jarman, Landmarks in the History of Education (London, 2nd edn., 1963), p. 162.

That "the Elizabethan gentry and the middle class believed in education for their children and took steps to secure it"⁴ is evident, when one considers that those increased endowments was a trend which accelerated, for twice as many schools were established between 1601 and 1651 as in the preceding century.⁵ An outstanding example of this concern is Sir Thomas Gresham, who, following in the footsteps of many merchants who had endowed grammar schools in the sixteenth century, set up Gresham College, but took care "to put control of his college into the hands not of clerics but of merchants like himself".⁶ His college was also representative of the swing away from the scholasticism that was a source of discontent and protest. The system of free adult education offered at Gresham College "was consciously designed to supply the teaching of modern subjects which the universities were conspicuously failing to give".⁷ This college became important not only as a place where modern subjects were offered, but even more important, it became a meeting-place and a clearing-house, where educated men with various fields of interest could exchange ideas.⁸ It was, in essence, an embryo of Hartlib's dream of a "universal college,"⁹ a dream which was never realised. However, Gresham College did give "birth to the Royal Society",¹⁰

⁴Trevor-Roper, p. 242.

⁵Watson, 58-9.

⁶Hill, Intellectual Origins, p. 34.

⁷ibid., p. 37.

⁸ibid., p. 35.

⁹S.J. Curtis and M.E.A. Boulton, A Short History of Educational Ideas (London, 2nd edn., 1956), p. 213.

¹⁰Hill, Intellectual Origins, p. 125.

and Hartlib had the satisfaction of believing he was the midwife. Whether there was any connection at all between Hartlib and Comenius, and the founding of the Royal Society, is a matter of controversy,¹¹ but if there was a very tenuous connection, any pleasure these men gained from believing they had laboured in its cause must surely be accepted.

By the turn of the century, criticism of existing educational institutions was stronger and was coming from a wider spectrum of society, indicating an increasing ability among laymen to voice opinion on educational matters.¹² It was recognised that the educational system was "top-heavy";¹³ there was a tendency towards a more secularised approach,¹⁴ and a need for greater utilitarianism.¹⁵ Both of these drives became more powerful during the exciting unprecedented surge of educational ideas that broke upon the English scene between 1640 and 1660.¹⁶ As Margaret James puts it:

It was not surprising that a century which witnessed the discoveries of Napier, Harvey, and Descartes should begin to chafe against the dead hand of the past which still held the orthodox places of learning in its grip.¹⁷

But the protests against scholasticism had begun long before the end of the sixteenth century. Whitgift, then lecturing at Cambridge, may not have been deserving of these harsh words levelled at him by a former student, Thomas Cartwright: "You are better acquainted with the names of

¹¹On this see Trevor-Roper, p. 289, n. 2.

¹²Simon, p. 396.

¹³Trevor-Roper, p. 242.

¹⁴Hill, Intellectual Origins, p. 111.

¹⁵Jarman, p. 183.

¹⁶Hill, p. 111.

¹⁷James, p. 315.

logic and philosophy, than with any sound or substantial knowledge of them",¹⁸ but Cartwright's words certainly present one of the strongest objections to scholasticism. And later the crotchety John Webster¹⁹ left little out:

a confused chaos of needless, frivolous, fruitless, triviall, vain, curious, impertinent, knotty, ungodly, irreligious, thorny and hel-hatcht disputes, altercation, doubts, questions and endless janglings, multiplied and spawned forth even to monstrosity and nauseousness.²⁰

Whatever else scholasticism was blamed for, it certainly did not turn out tongue-tied scholars!

In the early sixteenth century, however, a new spirit of humanism had entered the English schools; but while humanism provided a leavening for scholasticism, the process was a very slow one indeed, and did not remove the preponderant emphasis on book learning and the ancients. Curtis and Boultonwood claim that "the main impetus to the movement away from decadent humanism and lingering scholasticism was given by Sir Francis Bacon".²¹ While no one is likely to quibble over the term "lingering" - it could be argued that scholasticism lingers still to some degree at Cambridge and Oxford - "decadent" is hardly appropriate. There certainly was an extreme form of humanism that was

¹⁸Quoted in H.C. Porter, Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge (Cambridge, 1958), p. 179.

¹⁹Trevor-Roper, p. 168.

²⁰Quoted in Joan Simon, "Educational Policies and Programmes", The Modern Quarterly (1949), 158.

²¹Curtis, p. 207.

deplored by most humanists. These extremists lacked "the understanding and breadth of vision" of Erasmus who himself criticised their "worldly shallow literature aping the classical authors".²² But apart from this element, there was considerable value for education in humanist ideas. Men like Erasmus and Vives brought to the attention of those interested in education such important matters as teacher training and teaching methods.²³ Three simple rules for teaching given by Erasmus in 1529 would not be out of place today.

First, do not hurry, for learning comes easily when the proper stage is reached. Second, avoid a difficulty which can be safely ignored, or at least postponed. Third, when the difficulty must be handled, make the boys' approach to it as gradual and as interesting as you can.²⁴

Rather than Baconianism creating a movement away from humanism, it would be fairer to say it quickened an educational discussion already begun and continued by humanists.²⁵ It may be speculation, but it is possible that humanists would have eventually arrived at many of the same conclusions and obtained similar results anyway, and that what evolved was basically humanism, adapted, and diffused by Baconianism, for Baconian naturalism only lent a new purpose and vigour to humanism.²⁶ Mrs. Simon suggests that in the light of continuity of most social and cultural development, Baconianism, together with Humanism and Puritanism,

²²ibid., p. 126.

²³Simon, Education and Society, p. 400.

²⁴Quoted in Curtis, p. 127.

²⁵Ricardo Quintana, "Notes on English Educational Opinion During the Seventeenth Century," Studies in Philology, 27 (1930), 278.

²⁶ibid., 280.

stimulated the growth of educational ideas and helped give rise to the numerous suggested reforms,²⁷ that "the educational aims advanced by the early humanists were furthered by the reforming movement".²⁸

It would appear, then, that schools generally were little affected by the Reformation and that education was progressing with customary slowness as far as changes are concerned in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, contrary to the view expressed in many textbooks dealing with the history of education. As Lawrence Stone points out, by 1640 it is possible that "England was at all levels the most literate society the world has ever known".²⁹ If this was so, if indeed education had progressed reasonably well during Tudor and early Stuart times,³⁰ what were the reasons for the explosion in educational reforms and ideas during the period 1640-1660? Its beginning was sufficiently abrupt to indicate that there must have been some immediate reasons. The dates suggest at once a connection with Parliament, for the period spans the years of the Long Parliament and the Interregnum. A study makes plain that the accordance of dates is not coincidental, for Pym and Cromwell were so concerned (and not for political reasons alone) about educational affairs that with "the advent of the Long Parliament. . . the stage was set for educational reform."³¹

²⁷Simon, Education and Society, p. 291.

²⁸ibid., p. 165.

²⁹Lawrence Stone, "The Educational Revolution in England, 1560-1640", Past and Present, 28 (July, 1964), 68.

³⁰ibid., 69.

³¹Simon, "Educational Policies", 158. For Parliament's schemes for education, see John W. Adamson, Pioneers of Modern Education (Cambridge, 1905), pp. 90-91, 102-4.

Pym and his fellow members revealed their interest in educational reform in a number of practical ways. In 1641 the Commons resolved "that all the lands taken by forfeiture from the Deans and Chapters should be employed for the advancement of learning and piety".³² This was merely the first announcement that the Long Parliament intended to organise and structure public education.³³ In the same year, the Commons resolved to support a committee for the Advancement of Learning.³⁴ Pym was an early and faithful supporter of Hartlib,³⁵ and in the midst of the quarrel with the Crown and of his other political commitments, he, and later Cromwell, maintained a constant interest in education. It was the action of the Long Parliament in abolishing the Church and Crown Courts that released the presses from which tracts then poured.

Just as the sectaries came up from underground and met publicly as soon as the hierarchy collapsed: so, as soon as Laudian censorship broke down the works of Bacon, Coke, Raleigh, and many more were freely published, discussed, commented on.³⁶

Samuel Hartlib, already working for the cause, rapidly became, as Dury said, "the boss of the wheel,"³⁷ for he was "a vigorous propagandist and pamphleteer".³⁸ He drew together the educational ideals and theories

³²James, p. 322. This resolution applied only to "Delinquents" and did not affect any house of learning. See Vincent, p. 46.

³³Adamson, p. 97.

³⁴Hill, Intellectual Origins, p. 108. This committee was not, in fact, appointed until 1653.

³⁵Trevor-Roper, p. 257. See also p. 276.

³⁶Hill, Intellectual Origins, p. 119.

³⁷Quoted in Trevor-Roper, p. 252.

³⁸Hill, Intellectual Origins, p. 101.

of many - Milton, Pell and Petty, for example - and gave his support to the propagation of several worth while educational schemes.³⁹

These activities created the immediate stimulus to educational discussion, but there were many other causes that were less obvious because they evolved slowly. As humanism dates from the early sixteenth century, so the development of education for secular and economic purposes goes back to the disintegration of the feudal system and certain aspects of Calvinism which altered man's outlook considerably. Under the feudal system a few men decided the fate and directed the life of the many, who had no idea of citizenship in any active sense, medieval society being composed mainly "of nonparticipants, inactive men".⁴⁰ Under Calvinism the only true authority was God, and each man was personally responsible for his spiritual destiny. This shift of responsibility on to the shoulders of individuals was a strike against the traditional hierarchical society. The Calvinist rejected hierarchy when he claimed direct, personal relationship with God, and this moved his loyalties from an earthly allegiance to a spiritual one.⁴¹

The effect of such ideas could have tremendous influence on life in general. In England, it created fear of the collapse of the social structure, and the reaction manifested itself in the attempt of the Tudors to continue to control society. Elizabeth's efforts, "to maintain the old habits of reverence and deference, the old distinctions

³⁹G.H. Turnbull, Hartlib, Dury and Comenius (London, 1947), p. 38.

⁴⁰Michael Walzer, The Revolution of the Saints (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1965), p. 4.

⁴¹ibid., pp. 166ff.

of ranks and orders", included the subjection of education to political and religious censorship.⁴² Her policy in education was clearly aimed at consolidating social and religious order, an aim she hoped to achieve by restricting "certain forms of education to gentlemen at one end of the scale while at the other the children of the poor were trained to habits of useful work."⁴³ Toward the end of Elizabeth's reign this state intervention in schools took a definite form in the provisions of the Poor Laws of 1601, which were beneficial to progress in general education. It would seem that underneath the fear of social disorder, there was a growing conviction, both difficult to control or to ignore, that all children should learn to read and develop their natural abilities.⁴⁴

There were other changes, too, that defied state control. The notion of man's place in the universe altered as drastically as our increasing awareness of outer space is already changing our twentieth-century conception. As the Copernican view of the universe removed the earth from its central position - earth was now merely a small orb in a complex universe - so an ideology that had its roots in Calvinism tended to level the ranks of society. Since God had arbitrarily chosen before their birth those whom he wished to save, to this degree all men had a chance and to this extent all were equal. Consequently, the aristocracy need no longer be revered. This shift in perspective is mirrored in the literature of the day, which "is full of complaints about upstarts."⁴⁵

⁴²ibid., p. 119; Simon, "Educational Policies," 155.

⁴³Simon, Education and Society, p. 294.

⁴⁴ibid., p. 403.

⁴⁵Bush, p. 13.

As the hierarchy of society in general fell apart, the hierarchical structure of the family mellowed. While it is difficult to assess the extent of this, there was a decided change "in the attitude toward children It may be that the demand for education is another symptom" of this.⁴⁶ In addition, the Puritan insistence that all must be literate in order to learn God's Word tended to focus attention on elementary schooling.⁴⁷ The Puritans were, of course, equally concerned with higher education, which must produce enough well qualified clergy to supply all churches. Economic developments reinforced this Puritan ideal, for education was "becoming the key to advancement in all fields:"⁴⁸ expansion of commerce, formation of professions, new manufacturing techniques, advances in husbandry - all were creating the need for adequate training in an ever-widening field of activities. The rapid growth of knowledge and new techniques and ways of dealing with these concerned many.⁴⁹

⁴⁶Stone, "Educational Revolution", 70.

⁴⁷Jarman, p. 151.

⁴⁸Simon, Education and Society, p. 294.

⁴⁹The need for adequate training in mathematics was becoming more and more crucial for mining, navigation, commerce, etc., but it was uphill work to get arithmetic - one of the three Rs - into school curricula. Although "the first significant arithmetic book" was published in English in 1542, there were still clergymen calling such things "works of the devil" a century later. It was principally the need for better methods of navigation that led to the opening of the first mathematics school in 1672. On this, see James K. Bidwell, "The Teaching of Arithmetic in England from 1550 until 1800 as Influenced by Social Change", The Mathematics Teacher (October, 1969), 484-7.

Hill claims that "that body of ideas we call 'Puritan' was in fact . . . far more concerned with this - worldly matters than it has been usual to suppose."⁵⁰ One may feel that this remark tends to despoil Puritanism of its essentially religious outlook. If "we are rightly surprised by the straightforwardness with which [such men as Hartlib, Petty, and Dury] want to direct education towards useful purposes,"⁵¹ we should see this in the context of their religious intent, for to such men "religious ideas [were] not worth much unless they changed people and their dealings with each other toward the better."⁵² Douglas Bush underlines this individualistic quality of Puritanism, its principle of endeavouring to do one's best in one's calling.⁵³ The fact is, as Joan Simon has pointed out, "educational progress and practice must be related to wider social movements";⁵⁴ and this is certainly no less true of the educational thought of the English revolutionary period. If it was indeed the social ideals that triumphed,⁵⁵ it was because the Puritans' aims in education fused with the economic need for better education. But this does not deny the importance of religion. That society benefited by the "this - worldly" bias must surely have been incidental as far as Puritans generally were concerned.

⁵⁰Hill, Intellectual Origins, p. 111.

⁵¹Robert Ulich, History of Educational Thought (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1968), p. 183.

⁵²ibid., pp. 183-4.

⁵³Bush, p. 3.

⁵⁴Simon, Education and Society, Preface, vii.

⁵⁵Hill, Society and Puritanism, p. 509.

When Bacon expressed the notion that "a new and wider education was becoming necessary",⁵⁶ he was ignored until a more propitious occasion, because he was a courtier speaking to courtiers,⁵⁷ and because he spoke at an unfortunate time, since the period 1620 to 1630 was "a decade of economic crisis at home and betrayal of a great tradition abroad".⁵⁸ Nevertheless, the great strides in science could not be completely ignored even in Elizabeth's day. These further aided advance in education, for the traditional scholastic approach was no longer adequate. Even Cambridge was forced to concede in 1633 that there might be "some other Rules then Aristotle hath yet light upon."⁵⁹

All these causes, immediate and long-term, resulted in "a surprisingly enlightened discussion of the scope and methods of education" between 1640 and 1660.⁶⁰ There were more men involved than there were causes, and they represented all walks of life and every level of society.⁶¹ Foster Watson refers to a "broadside" entitled A Good Motion, dated London, 1646, author unknown, part of which he quotes directly. The writer is thinking in terms of an extension of the Parliamentary plan to apply the money from Deans and Chapters to education. His scheme calls for a voluntary nation-wide effort that would make possible "an Eton in every Bishop's house." He suggests that rich and poor give the value of one

⁵⁶Jarman, p. 181.

⁵⁷Trevor-Roper, p. 245.

⁵⁸ibid., p. 246.

⁵⁹Quoted in Simon, "Educational Policies", 156.

⁶⁰James, p. 319.

⁶¹Trevor-Roper, pp. 265ff.

meal a week for a year and is confident that this would provide more than enough. This appeal, Watson claims, sounds "the note of popular educational interest and energy" very much in evidence then, though this "educational madness" was supposed not to have been experienced in England until 1832. Watson supports his belief that this was no isolated case by citing two others, one from Lincoln, 1649, and one from Gloucestershire, 1642, which was written by Samuel Harnmar, one of a number of schoolmasters who contributed to the discussion.⁶² Hill's review of proposals and petitions for universities between 1641 and 1648 further strengthens the belief that concern about education was in no way limited geographically or socially.⁶³ No one knows how much may have been written and discussed at a local level only, but it seems likely that discussion would indeed take place for "basic literacy was common even among the poor."⁶⁴

While this certainly was "an English movement", it was undoubtedly "animated by [the] foreign thinkers" Samuel Hartlib, John Dury, and Amos Comenius.⁶⁵ Without question, in any list of educational reformers of the period, these three require mention; and Hartlib first, for while all over the country people were expressing their views, Hartlib was the man who gave considerable time and energy to gathering together as many of these people and ideas as he could, hoping to bring them into his

⁶²Watson, pp. 62-63.

⁶³Hill, Intellectual Origins, pp. 108-9.

⁶⁴Stone, 79.

⁶⁵Trevor-Roper, p. 249. It should be noted, perhaps, that Dury was a native Scot, but that he was reared in Europe, where his family went into exile for religious reasons shortly after he was born.

"invisible college."⁶⁶

The activity of Hartlib on behalf of educational reform in England seems to have started as soon as he took up permanent residence there in 1628. His original ambition was to better conditions of the poor, and to assist those exiled foreigners who took refuge in England; but he soon realised that education was closely linked with this enterprise, especially the first part of it. All aspects of education commanded his concern, but he showed special interest in such matters as improving agricultural methods, (a favourite project as a College of Husbandry),⁶⁷ educating the Indians of New England,⁶⁸ and, because Latin was so basic to education - and was so regarded by most writers of the time - better methods of learning foreign languages. He had been in close touch with Dury since 1627,⁶⁹ and in 1630 he was asking him to continue sending "information, especially about things concerning education," in exchange sending Dury a copy of Pell's Method, probably his Idea of Mathematics.⁷⁰ He was corresponding with Comenius as early as 1632.⁷¹ In forty years of constant effort on behalf of education, he was responsible for persuading a number of people, who might not otherwise have bothered, to set down their ideas about education, and he gave support for the publication of the works of many, many more.⁷²

⁶⁶ibid., p. 250.

⁶⁷James, p. 116.

⁶⁸Turnbull, p. 48.

⁶⁹Robert F. Young, Comenius in England (London, 1932), p. 34.

⁷⁰Turnbull, p. 36.

⁷¹Young, p. 35.

⁷²Curtis, p. 214.

It is not surprising that eventually Hartlib was asked "to tell the world, in some complete treatise of his own, what he was undertaking for the advancement of learning".⁷³ Hartlib's educational policy was in fact a very general one. Its main aims were to rectify defects of learning, to add those aspects of knowledge at present missing from the school curriculum, and to find teaching methods that would facilitate learning. Trevor-Roper is probably just in calling Hartlib "unoriginal".⁷⁴ All the evidence certainly points to Hartlib's being more of an organizer and stimulator than an originator. He edited, wrote prefaces and introductions to many of the works that came into his hands, and it is difficult to be certain which, if any, were his own unaided work. Hartlib was probably the editor rather than the author of the agricultural pamphlets frequently attributed to him.⁷⁵ The same is true of three language tracts which he published together. Turnbull concluded, after a very close study of Hartlib's papers, that the various Office of Address tracts were written in collaboration with Dury, and parts were "to judge by the style and content . . . the work of Dury."⁷⁶ And Petty complained that about 1648 he had left a paper with Hartlib "comprehending this whole design," outlined in the Office of Public Addresses which Hartlib published in 1647.⁷⁷ Any stigma of plagiarism is hardly Hartlib's fault, for in the list of his publications given in Turnbull, it is

⁷³Turnbull, pp. 48-49.

⁷⁴Trevor-Roper, p. 251.

⁷⁵James, p. 115.

⁷⁶Turnbull, pp. 77ff.

⁷⁷ibid., pp. 55-56.

clear he claimed only to have published most of the works.⁷⁸ If people came to refer to these works as Hartlib's, that was probably only because his name was so well known. The Office of Public Addresses, however, seems to have been originally Hartlib's idea, which Dury developed through discussions with Hartlib, and which was copied by some and held in common by others.

The Office of Address was first mooted in Considerations tending to the Happy Accomplishment of Englands Reformation in Church and State (1647), but it was both altered and reused several times thereafter: it was a seed which germinated. In his Advice to Hartlib (1648) Petty recommended the Office of Address be a general Intelligence Department, an extension of Hartlib's idea, where a record of all inventions be kept, and a catalogue prepared, showing those areas where new techniques and improved methods were most urgently required.⁷⁹ In a paper intended for the consideration of Parliament the proposed Office of Address of Correspondence is, basically, Petty's Department of Intelligence, and was probably the source of Petty's complaint mentioned above. The purpose of the Office of Address for Accommodations (1648), written by Dury, was to attend to the accommodations of the poor, of trade and commerce; its main aim was communication of spiritual and intellectual advantages. This was not Dury's own work; parts of it were taken from papers written by others.⁸⁰ The Office of Address, in other words, was an employment

⁷⁸ibid., pp. 88ff.

⁷⁹Adamson, p. 130.

⁸⁰Turnbull, pp. 77ff. There is a list of the sources used by Dury. Turnbull concludes that most of the paper was the work of Adolphus Speede.

exchange, a patenting office, a complaints department, a library of inventions - in fact, whatever was required by the particular interest being discussed.

One major work to which Hartlib may lay claim is A Description of the Famous Kingdom of Macaria (1641), but even this work relies heavily on the ideas of others: on Andrea's attempt to found a Christian Society in 1618;⁸¹ on a correspondence with Fridwald, started in 1628, about Antilia (Andrea's state), where the education of children was to be the very foundation of the state;⁸² and on More's Utopia and Bacon's New Atlantis, which were his "avowed models."⁸³ Macaria is a welfare state, complete with health service, where all the resources are utilised for the general good by applying the experimental study of science.⁸⁴ This work underlines Hartlib's interest "in the economic and social structure of his Utopia." He approaches the problem from the point of view of a practical administrator,⁸⁵ which was indeed where his talent lay.

Hartlib's greatest contribution to education was without doubt the lavishing of his considerable administrative skill towards the collection of people and ideas, and his practical editing and disseminating of the wealth of opinion he had elicited. The gem of his collection was Comenius, and time has only served to enhance the value of this prize for education. Hartlib was most anxious that Comenius should come to

⁸¹Turnbull, p. 73.

⁸²ibid., p. 69.

⁸³Trevor-Roper, p. 269.

⁸⁴Adamson, p. 92.

⁸⁵James, p. 307.

England, for he had come to believe that their joint ideals could be put into practice there: the time and place seemed right.⁸⁶ Unfortunately, their high hopes were dashed by the political situation.

Comenius set out his ideas for education in The Great Didactic, originally written between 1628 and 1632, but not published until possibly 1658.⁸⁷ This work "is regarded as the classical work upon which every type of systematic teaching is based".⁸⁸ He, too, was pleased to recognise the worth of the works of others, learned from them, and borrowed freely while forming his own ideas. His views on teaching incorporate a number of More's: they both stressed the need to teach in the vernacular, to teach by concrete examples and through the senses. But Comenius added ready-made methods, which any teacher would utilise.⁸⁹ He took Bacon's ideas a step further also, again in a practical way, for he considered ways and means of collecting and spreading knowledge "even at the lowest stages and with the humblest pupils".⁹⁰ His main concern was the improvement of the existing system, and some parts of his philosophy, which are of little value today, were addressed to real needs of his time. He became an encyclopedist, for he felt this was the simplest way to record the volume of knowledge already available; he took ideals and theories into the classroom and experimented with their practical application. It was these findings that he set down in his Great Didactic.

⁸⁶William T. Costello, The Scholastic Curriculum at Early Seventeenth-Century Cambridge (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1958), p. 28.

⁸⁷Turnbull, p. 378.

⁸⁸Jean Piaget, John Amos Comenius (New York, 1957), p. 66.

⁸⁹Curtis, p. 184.

⁹⁰ibid., p. 184.

Comenius' most widely circulated publications were the Orbis Pictus (1658), which schoolchildren must have found a great innovation, and his Janua: Gateway of Languages Unlocked (1631), which was appreciated by children and masters alike, for its attempt "to facilitate the learning of Latin".⁹¹ It is known that Comenius attempted to write two hundred books, but because his papers were lost or destroyed at least twice, it is not known how far he succeeded in this ambition.⁹²

Hartlib's admiration for this remarkable educator was so great that he worked hard with Pym to bring him to England. Comenius was first invited in 1636, about the time that Pym told Hartlib "that he would gladly aid in the encouragement of Comenius' designs",⁹³ but it was 1641 before he came. Pym appears to have smoothed the way for this visit, though Hartlib had continued his efforts throughout the intervening years.⁹⁴ Pym, who made good use of the Elizabethan tactic of "tuning

⁹¹Robert R. Rusk, The Doctrines of the Great Educators (New York, 1965), p. 102. Orbis Pictus went to twenty-one editions in the seventeenth century, forty-three in the eighteenth, thirty-three in the nineteenth, and there have been nine so far in the twentieth. John Edward Sadler, J.A. Comenius and the Concept of Universal Education (New York, 1966), p. 268. Janua was equally popular, and "was at once translated into a dozen European languages and three or four eastern languages." Complete Prose Works of John Milton, ed. Douglas Bush et al. (New Haven, 1953-), II, 161-62. (This work will be cited hereafter as CPW).

⁹²"Comenius spent the best part of his life writing books which he hoped would be instruments of universal education". (Sadler, p. 265). "Comenius constructed his text-books as a complete series from infancy to manhood" (Sadler, p. 271). The whole of ch. 12 in Sadler (pp. 264-85) is extremely valuable on Comenius' work on textbooks.

⁹³CPW, I, 164.

⁹⁴Turnbull, p. 349.

the pulpits" during his "reign,"⁹⁵ prodded Parliament in the desired direction. Gauden, who delivered his "fast sermon"⁹⁶ in November, 1640, had been well briefed. He praised the work of Comenius and Dury, and asked Parliament "to consider whether it were not worthy the name and honour of this state and church to invite these men".⁹⁷ Unfortunately, by the time Comenius received the invitation⁹⁸ and completed the long trip, the political winds had shifted. The Stafford trial, followed by the Irish Rebellion, succeeded by the Civil Wars, "confounded all plans",⁹⁹ Comenius stayed only nine months.

Though Comenius' visit was so brief, it stimulated progress in a number of ways. It encouraged school foundations, improved the teaching of Latin, made some schoolmasters consider new ways of making learning interesting; it provoked the institution of a number of school libraries, and influenced Mrs. Makin, John Pell's sister, to become "a pioneer in the reform of girls' education".¹⁰⁰ Altogether,

⁹⁵Trevor-Roper, p. 260.

⁹⁶"General fasts, with appropriate sermons" had been held as early as 1588. From these developed the idea of a fast at the beginning of Parliament, when two sermons were delivered. The preachers were chosen carefully for the text and the delivery gave a hint of what was likely to be done during the session ahead". Trevor-Roper, ch. 6, pp. 294-344. Also pp. 260ff.

⁹⁷Trevor-Roper, pp. 261-2.

⁹⁸Although Comenius believed the invitation came from Parliament, there is no evidence of a formal invitation. It seems most likely that Hartlib was approached by a Parliamentary representative about the possibility of inviting Comenius, and that Hartlib then wrote to Comenius "in the name of Parliament".

⁹⁹Quoted in CPW, I, 165.

¹⁰⁰Hoole took his pupils on educational outings, to provide them with "things" before "words". See Curtis, pp. 218-9.

his was no mean achievement, but his influence was strongest among those with whom he had personal contact. To them, he was able to impart an understanding of his fundamental concepts, an understanding lacking in others who were able to read only brief and inadequate summaries of his writings. His influence continued in England after he was gone, mainly, but not entirely, through his school texts for the teaching of Latin.¹⁰¹

The third member of this trio of foreigners was John Dury. His initial vocation was to reconcile Lutherans and Calvinists, but his concept of unity widened, until latterly it encompassed the idea of unity between Catholics and Protestants.¹⁰² This, no doubt, was the cause of his being dubbed "heretic", and drummed out of the Church in 1677.¹⁰³ It was through his association with Hartlib and Comenius that he became so involved in educational problems. Under their influence he produced two articles, one entitled The Reformed School (1649), and the other, The Reformed Library Keeper (1650). The educational philosophy that evolved is strongly based on his religious convictions.¹⁰⁴ His reformed school is for the education of children living in an all-Christian community. The all-Puritan settlements of New England were a concrete realisation of Dury's philosophy. In New England, Puritanism was unadulterated by outside influence in the early years. The result was the growth of a tradition of common schools where basic skills essential to the Puritan pilgrim in his progress towards God were taught. Horace

¹⁰¹Adamson, p. 80; Curtis, p. 219.

¹⁰²Adamson, p. 139.

¹⁰³Sadler, p. 175.

¹⁰⁴Curtis, p. 217.

Mann was fortunate to fall heir to such a system of schools, though by the time he inherited it, the system had been considerably weakened by successive and diverse groups of immigrants, proving Dury's point that the members of his ideal community must be bound to each other by common religious ties.¹⁰⁵

These three men had agreed to work with and for each other. As Dury said: "Though our tasks be different we are all three in a knowledge of one another's labours, and can hardly be without one another's assistance."¹⁰⁶ Most of Dury's work directly bearing on education followed from this bond. His contribution to general education may be that he focussed attention more specifically on the child as an individual and on the need to adjust teaching to individual abilities,¹⁰⁷ points that Erasmus had considered earlier.¹⁰⁸ The stimulus given to school libraries is attributed to Comenius, but it is possible that The Reformed Library Keeper, together with "His views on the post of library-keeper at Oxford" (1646) and "Humble Motions concerning the Library at

¹⁰⁵There was a tradition of compulsory common schools, community-supported, present in the New England States, though the Puritan theocracy was gone. Mann grasped the significance of the Puritan tradition and strengthened it, so that it became part of American public education. James B. Conant, Thomas Jefferson and the Development of American Public Education (Berkeley, 1962), p. 39.

¹⁰⁶Sadler, p. 83. Dury defined each one's "peculiar taske: Mr. Hartlib is the sollicitor of humane learning for the reformation of schooles, and my lot is fallen chiefly in divine matters to promote the counsellis of peace ecclesiasticall" . . . and Mr. Comenius "will put forth in due time waies of schooling and pansophicall learning" (Young, p. 78, n.1).

¹⁰⁷Curtis, p. 218.

¹⁰⁸ibid., p. 127.

St. James" (1650), had some effect on the keeping of books at universities. But as his main task was with divine matters, so the bulk of his works pertain directly to religion. Among them are some that bear on religious education: for example, "A Discourse" (1640), which contains his method of meditation; "His little treatise" (1642), written to help simple people read the Scriptures; and "A little catechism" (1644) for use with young children.¹⁰⁹

The names of Hartlib, Dury, and Comenius will always be associated with educational reform in England in the early seventeenth century, and the roots of their philosophies are firmly grounded there. Their work helped to bring about a coalescence of humanistic, Baconian and Puritan ideas. The Englishmen who made important contributions - men like Petty, Harmar, Winstanley - were numerous. Many of them held views that had common threads in them, but their varied social backgrounds and wide personality differences resulted in a rich crop of diverse and valuable educational ideas. The views they expressed sometimes showed that they were committed with varying intensity to the new order or still clinging to certain aspects of the existing society.¹¹⁰ Rather than attempting to survey some of the theories advanced, we shall look more closely at the educational thoughts of two men, a Royalist and a Puritan, namely Clarendon and Milton, famous members of opposing sides in the Civil War, and we shall endeavour to find out, among other things, to what extent their respective backgrounds and loyalties affected their ideas on

¹⁰⁹Listed in Turnbull, pp. 309ff.

¹¹⁰Walzer, p. 17-8.

education. This will have the additional advantage of bringing to twentieth-century notice a significant educational work of Clarendon, which appears - quite astonishingly - to have been totally over-looked by historians of education.

CHAPTER III

A ROYALIST'S VIEW: CLARENDON AND HIS DIALOGUE . . .

CONCERNING EDUCATION

Among historians, literary critics and others, Edward Hyde, first Earl of Clarendon (1608-74), is generally noted for his central involvement in the political life of his time, for his association with lawyers, poets and the scholarly group at Great Tew, for his monumental True Historical Narrative of the Rebellion and the Civil Wars, for the excellence of his practising the ancient art of the "Character", and for his Contemplations on the Psalms.¹ He is, however, except for his administrative work as Chancellor of Oxford, not normally known for his connection with education. This is surprising, for he is the author of a tract on education that is not only a valuable social document, but also an appealingly humane work of considerable literary merit.

His Dialogue . . . concerning Education has therefore a number of claims upon our attention: historians of education working

¹Only a few modern studies are concerned with the appreciation of Clarendon's literary work: B.H.G. Wormald, Clarendon: Politics, History and Religion 1640 - 1660 (Cambridge, 1951); French R. Fogle [and] H.R. Trevor-Roper, Milton and Clarendon. Two Papers on Seventeenth Century English Historiography presented at a seminar held at the Clark Library on December 12, 1964 (Los Angeles, 1965); and L.C. Knights, "Reflections on Clarendon's History of the Rebellion" in Further Explorations (London, 1965), pp. 212-37.

in the period do not appear to be aware of the existence of the text, yet it expresses the views of an eminent Royalist, it is interesting from a purely literary point of view, and it is available at the University of Alberta. First, then, since the work seems to have been commonly ignored by historians of education, it ought to be examined in the light of a modern re-awakened interest in the concept of educational history as a discipline. In saying this, yet arguing for Clarendon's Dialogue a significant place in seventeenth-century educational thought, one is committed to considering reasons why the work has been so universally neglected heretofore. A number of possibilities suggest themselves: a) the Dialogue was not published until 1727, at which time it was partially hidden (or indecently buried) by its inclusion in a collection of miscellaneous tracts, A Collection of Several Tracts, published from his Lordship's original manuscripts (London, 1727); b) the work has never been edited and published separately, so that it has remained unnoticed and obscure; c) the overshadowing of Clarendon the educationist by his fame as historian and statesman; and d) the fact that Clarendon was not on the party which undoubtedly created most of the educational ferment during the English revolutionary period. Such factors as these may very well have inadvertently blinded students of education to this work.

Second, Clarendon's discourse on education is valuable in giving the testimony of one who during the Civil Wars was a prominent Royalist. To place, for purposes of comparison and contrast, Clarendon's views beside the much more widely-known opinions of Milton, ought to be illuminating, especially when we reflect that these men were almost exact contemporaries. Third, the piece is not only interesting for the educational

ideas it expresses, but it is also (as already indicated) remarkable as a work of literary art. Its use of the dialogue-form, which is a fairly common literary genre of hallowed lineage, allows for the give-and-take of debate, of discussion that clarifies the issues, permits the modification of stands and urges the fairness of a central position. Throughout appear all Clarendon's exceptional gifts of colloquial discursiveness and character-realisation that are so eloquently displayed in his more famous works. Indeed, from this point of view, Clarendon's Dialogue by no means suffers by comparison with Milton's Tractate, which, although written in distinctively "Miltonic" prose (Milton himself denigrated this style by claiming that he wrote prose with his "left hand"), is nevertheless composed in a more pedestrian form, a letter addressed to Samuel Hartlib. Fourth, the work finally deserves our consideration, not least because it can conveniently be read at the University of Alberta, which has the great good fortune to possess a copy: it is located in the Rare Book Room of the Cameron Library.²

For all these reasons, then, Clarendon's Dialogue is eminently worthy of our interest. To show how germane it is to our study, however, we must try to ascertain the date of its composition; and here, since we have no other resource beyond the knowledge that it existed only in manuscript until the eighteenth century, we must be guided by internal evidence alone. The work clearly cannot have been written earlier than 1628, for at one point the old Courtier, sarcastically

²The call number is DA 447 C6 1727.

suggesting that it will be a premium to place on the nobility to have them "carefully and diligently read my Lord Coke upon Littleton" (327),³ refers to the first volume of Sir Edward Coke's Institutes, a commentary which superseded the standard work of Sir Thomas Littleton (1402-81) on land tenures, and which was first published in 1628. Nor is it likely that the piece is later than 1642, since it makes no mention in its discussion of the educational value of plays to the Puritans' closing of the theatres, which was done in that year and which lasted throughout the Commonwealth period until the Restoration. Within these limits, 1628-1642, the Dialogue can actually be dated more narrowly. In the lengthy debate about the stage, resort is made to a number of allegations that constituted the substance of the Puritan attack and were most forcefully rehearsed in William Prynne's Histrion-Mastix, which appeared in 1633. Apart from the fact that Prynne's vehement book provoked an equally violent reaction, in which some external evidence indicates Clarendon participated,⁴ it appears clear that Clarendon's extended discussion of the theatre was occasioned by the current controversy. It would seem altogether reasonable, therefore, to propose that the Dialogue be dated in the middle or late 1630's, when the dispute was

³Page references to Clarendon's Dialogue will be given in the text itself.

⁴Clarendon (Edward Hyde, as he then was) became a member of a committee of two from the Middle Temple that was urgently formed to plan jointly with other houses a masque called The Triumph of Peace, presented on Candlemas night, 1634. This production was an attempt by the Inns of Court, greatly embarrassed by the fact that the author of Histrion-Mastix was a member of Lincoln's Inn, to make up for Prynne's supposed slur on the Crown. An account of The Triumph of Peace is given in A. Wigfall Green, The Inns of Court and Early English Drama (New York, 1965), pp. 123-31.

at its height; this places it very close to Milton's Tractate, written in 1644.

Although the Dialogue . . . concerning Education is a wholly independent work with a unity of its own, it is actually a sequel to another dialogue in the same volume. It follows A Dialogue between A. an old Courtier, B. an old Lawyer, C. an old Soldier, D. an old Country Gentleman, and E. an old Alderman, of the want of Respect due to Age. In this work, when the subject of education had come up, the old Soldier (or Colonel) had broken off the debate, saying:

I will wholly decline one Argument in which all of you have enlarged very much; that is, of Education: which though it may naturally enough fall into the Argumentation in which we are now engaged, and probably is a real Cause of those Defects, and that Degeneration which is so grievous to you; yet I look upon it as so fit to be an Argument apart, and not to be mingled with any other, that whereas one of you threatned to fine the Alderman another Dinner, I shall concur with you in that Vote, and dedicate that Afternoon to another Conference in this Place upon that Subject of Education, which without doubt deserves a very deliberate Disquisition (301).

At the end of the discussion, the Alderman recalls this, and proposes a further meeting in a couple of days' time, at which he will provide dinner, for the purpose of discussing education. There is, however, to be an addition to the present assembled company; the Alderman announces that he will invite his friend, "the good Bishop", who "having been well bred himself, and seen Foreign Parts, will supply [them] with any necessary Animadversions and useful Reflections" (313).

Such is the setting for the work that immediately follows, which is our text: A Dialogue between the same Persons and a Bishop,

concerning Education. At the outset, the Colonel proposes a definition of the aim of education: "to dispose Men from Children to Wisdom and Virtue, whereby when they come to be Men, they may be delighted to tread in the same Paths" (313). This is the objective he would seek to attain in his scheme for the education of "noble and generous Persons; I mean, to the Children of Persons of Quality, who can be at the Charge,⁵ for good Education is chargeable, and leave the rest to those common Ways which their Fortunes as well as their Inclinations lead them unto" (313). The Colonel goes on to say that he will talk of "Rules towards their Education", from the time that "they first begin to speak" or "even from their Entrance into the World," if anyone wishes (314). The Alderman makes some comments about education at the mother's breast, for he believes the first year of life is very important. There follows an argument as to the advantages and disadvantages of employing a "wet" nurse. The Alderman is concerned that infants should be looked after by their own mothers throughout this formative age. But the Lawyer is opposed to obliging mothers to nurse their children. This brings forth what amounts to a plea for planned parenthood from the Country Gentleman, who berates the Lawyer for being "very wanton at this Age" (314). The Bishop protests that while this may be an important stage, and while it may indeed be desirable that women nurse their own babies, the Alderman lays "too heavy a Weight upon the poor Mothers", who can hardly do as suggested, without the consent of their husbands, whose rights must be protected.

⁵who can be at the charge: who can afford it.

The Bishop's solution is that the greatest care should be taken to find a nurse "of untainted Reputation, of unquestioned Virtue, and of a Mind as well formed as can be found" (315). The Courtier rather impatiently has the last word on this very early stage: it may well be that a robust healthy nurse is better than a delicately bred lady.

The arguments on both sides being fairly even on this matter, the group proceeds to discuss the next stage, the importance of which they are all agreed upon. As the Colonel puts it: "This is the Time when their Minds, and even their Nature is to be formed" (317). It is "a general and a fatal Mistake" to believe that children are incapable of learning, before "they can understand the Reason why any thing is good, or why the other is bad" (315). On the contrary, this is the very time to instil the good. This aspect of early training is rather "negative". Parents must ensure that a child learns no foul language, sees no wrong acts, and is never terrified by tales that engrave themselves on the infant imagination, for as the Country Gentleman says: "The Vices . . . brought with him out of the Nursery" (316) can never be eradicated. "To keep them from learning what is naught, is the greater Business than to teach them any Thing that is notable", confirms the Colonel (316).

On the positive side, such things as learning to dress neatly, deportment, elocution and articulation, the social graces generally, can all be acquired painlessly. This is the age when "the Tongue most delights in prating," when children love to play-act and imitate, so all this can "be taught and learned in Play and Sport,

without restraining them from any of those Childishnesses which are natural to their Age" (317). Even foreign languages may be learned by Rote, and without the Formality or Method of Grammar" (317). It is also important that children be taught "Gentleness, and Courtesy, and Affability towards all Men", while "all the Seeds of Pride, which will sprout up quickly, must be strictly watched, and all its Product extirpated", for pride is the cause "of all that Ignorance and Folly which usually disfigures the Lives of great Men" (317).

The Colonel believes that this play-learning stage should continue to age nine or ten. The Courtier immediately objects to the delay in introducing book learning. He knows boys who understand Latin and Greek well by that age. The Alderman, interested in long-term results, queries the effectiveness of this. "Did they understand proportionably afterwards, when they came to be Twenty?" he asks. "The Profit is not worth the Pains" (318). But the Colonel "did not restrain Children from learning as much as they have a mind to" (318). However, once the child is ready for serious study, he is definitely in favour of formal schooling taking place in a formal school setting. This is much to be preferred to the private tutor. The benefit derived from "the mutual Conversation of many Children together, of different Ages and different Parts, and the Imitation and Emulation that arises from thence" is not to be underestimated (318). Unfortunately, the existing grammar schools fail in three ways, the Colonel claims. The children "spend too many Hours together at their Book," and too many hours on their own when they get into mischief, which leads to the third fault: "their staying too long in those Schools, even to the Age

and Growth of Men" (319). When they do leave, they "carry all the Vices from School" with them (319). The Colonel would therefore like to impose arbitrarily a compulsory school-leaving age of sixteen, by which time any boy should be ready for the university, the army or other course of life. The Bishop heartily agrees with this latter proposal, since he is convinced that the "Reproaches of Dissoluteness and Debauchery" that dishonour Oxbridge are largely brought about by "those over-grown Boys" (319).

The Lawyer is also in agreement, but he wonders how the Colonel proposes to remedy those faults in the schools. "Four to five Hours in the Morning, and as long in the Afternoon, without any Intermission", is "too long to be intent upon their Books", declares the Colonel (320). He suggests that two hours is long enough at any one time for instruction or imparting of information; the rest of the time ought to be given over to discussion, debate, acting, and other exercises such as riding, bowling, and dancing. In his opinion the mind should be relaxed frequently with a "Succession of Exercises and Recreation" (320). In the ideal boarding school the master would be a well-bred foreigner, French or German, or a person who had travelled extensively. He would be a person of "unquestionable Integrity in Religion", but not one in "Holy Orders", lest he be diverted from his primary task, which is the "learning of Grammarians" (321). The master should also be married, so that his wife may be available to look after the welfare of the boys, who will be between the ages of nine and fourteen. The instructors of the "Exercises" are to be Frenchmen, since they teach "exercises" best. The all-inclusive fee would be.

£100 per annum, and the enrollment thirty. The Colonel believes that if his ideal school could only be founded, catering as it would for "Persons of notable Parts and Sufficiencies" (321), similar schools would be established very rapidly throughout the land. And certainly, he thinks, if continual care were taken, throughout the five-year course, to instil the right notions of good behaviour, courtesy and manners, the average child would be ready (at age fourteen) to go on to university.

The old Country Gentleman questions at this point whether university is the best place for them next to go. He says that many "Great Men" are now refusing to send their sons there. The Courtier, who knows a great deal about this, relates three main complaints heard at Court about Oxbridge: the universities are places of debauchery, "Schools to learn to drink in, which is the Poison of good Education"; "the Learning they get there is impertinent, being only a pedantick way of Disputing and Wrangling"; the students' manners are appallingly rude, and the students themselves gauche in the company of ladies (322).⁶ The Courtier therefore feels that Oxbridge might well be by-passed altogether, and the time devoted to travel, and to learning languages,

⁶Considerable evidence suggests that such charges of ignorance, idleness, boorishness and drunkenness against the universities and their students were not unfounded. For instance, a certain Arthur Wilson claimed that he had never "drunk so much in his life as at Oxford in the sixteen-thirties, 'with some of the greatest bachelors of divinity there'". Hill, Intellectual Origins, p. 306. On the general condition of the universities at this time, see the Appendix to Hill, "A Note on the Universities", pp. 301-14.

exercises and behaviour abroad, especially in Paris. The Alderman, however, is scornful. Those who have spent a few years abroad often return impudent rather than confident: "all their Learning is in wearing their Clothes well; they have very much without their Heads, very little within" (322).⁷ In his opinion, travel should wait until after university; nor is he convinced that the universities have indeed altered so much from his day, when they were "places of great Sobriety" (323). The Lawyer strongly supports this view and claims to know the cause of the slander against Oxbridge: too many of the nobility having no love of the ecclesiastical authority, merely pick a quarrel with the English universities as an excuse for sending their sons abroad, which is not only subversive, but also prejudicial to their own interests in a peculiarly ironic way, since "the Nobility is there rooted out" (323). Nevertheless, the Lawyer concedes that it may be that "those lubberly⁸ Fellows, who come from great Schools after they are Nineteen or Twenty Years of Age" bring their licentiousness with them; and he invites the Bishop to give his opinion (323). The Bishop voices his concern about the prevalence of drinking throughout the country, but holds that there was never a time when care was more diligently taken by the university authorities "to propagate Learning and good Manners, and to suppress and discountenance all kind of Vice, and particularly that of Drinking" (324). To be on the safe side, however, he would favour the formation of a

⁷Jacobean drama abounds in the satirical portrayal of the "know-it-all" traveller: Peregrine in Ben Jonson's Volpone is a good example.

⁸lubberly: "coarse, dull, loutish, stupid" (O.E.D.). Cf. Milton, "lubber fiend" (L'Allegro, 110).

Royal Commission to visit the universities and investigate conditions, so that excesses might be discovered and corrected, and the cause of learning advanced. He is highly pleased that the Colonel should so insist on the worth of a university education, but hopes that he will not stop short at pointing out the defects in the universities "as may be remedied or supplied, to make them contribute to all the manly Parts of Education, as well as to Letters" (324).

The Colonel resumes with a vigorous defence of his native universities, which are less corrupt and dissolute than those in Holland, France and Italy that he knows well. While he firmly believes in the worth of university education, he points out that both the course and intent of the study must be orderly and serious. Where he finds the English universities defective is "in providing for those Exercises and Recreations, which are necessary even to nourish and cherish their Studies"; this disadvantage, he believes, may well contribute to the decisions of some to send their sons abroad (325). He would like to see Oxbridge give full scope to riding, dancing, and fencing, and particular hours assigned to those "exercises" as to their "studies". This would require the erection of an adequate building, the provision of a stable and riding-area, a stock of horses and a subsidy for a "yearly Pension" to several masters, whose maintenance could not be covered wholly by the proportionate fees paid by students according to their means (326). This subsidy might appropriately come from "the Royal Bounty," since the King would "receive some Recompence in the good Education of his Subjects . . . by which they would be much better prepared to serve him, and their Country" (326). As for studies, the

Colonel strongly advocates the teaching of Logic and the practice of "Disputation"; nor would he permit the person of quality to choose whether he might attend "the Publick Scholastick Exercises of the House", which formerly was the case (326).⁹ The art of logic, learned largely through formal disputation, is invaluable, because it enables men "to discourse reasonably, and judge of the Discourses of other Men" (326). The Colonel could wish that Oxbridge would emphasise two things much more: "the Custom of speaking Latin in Conversation, and at Meals"; and "the publick Acting of Comedies and other Interludes in English as well as Latin", to promote confidence and grace in speech (327). If the students' time is well distributed "between their Study and their bodily exercises", and their conversation held with others "a little superior to themselves in Age and Parts," they may in three years have read enough in "History, or any other Science their Genius shall dispose them to, as shall raise an Appetite in them to prosecute it in any Condition of Life they can betake themselves to" (327). University education might, then, conclude at the age of seventeen, when the student might well be sent to the Inns of Court for two or three years.

The Courtier is shocked by this last suggestion. Is all education, he asks, to end in the training of the nobility and gentry

⁹Although not opposed to the learning of Logic, "so much as is useful", Milton was greatly opposed to its practice at Cambridge, believing it part of the lingering "Scholastick grosnesse of barbarous ages". On this topic, and especially for the rules governing the "Disputation", see Costello, p. 14, et passim.

to be lawyers? He maintains also that the Colonel makes no distinction "between Elder and Younger Brothers, between the Heirs to great Fortunes, and those who must make their own" (327). The Alderman thinks the nobility and gentry could do worse than learn something of the laws and customs of the country, and better understand London, from a stay at the Inns of Court, but it is naturally left to the Lawyer to make the greatest defence of the Inns of Court. The great benefit of a stay at the Inns of Court is that of mixing with the flower of the country's gentlemen; no one who spends time there can fail "to know more of the Kingdom and the Government thereof" than he could otherwise (328-29). The Bishop is disposed to feel that there is considerable merit in associating with such a society as is found there, while the Country Gentleman has learned from observation that those who have the advantage of this experience are better able to manage their estates and the affairs of the country.

The Colonel now points out that when he suggested sending his students to the Inns of Court from university, he had not intended that they all become lawyers; two or three years there should rather furnish a maturation stage, when the student will finally decide for himself which course of life he is now to pursue. A stay there will provide the essential experience of living in London among good company, and what is learned of the Law and of the proceedings of the Courts of Justice will fit him for any subsequent career. There he will practise dancing, riding, fencing, tennis; attend plays and participate in other recreations; make tours of the country and study the ways of life of the people; travel more extensively, be the better

able to evaluate what is observed and so judge among nations. All this, conscientiously done at the Inns of Court, will make the student so accomplished that he will be bound to succeed whether he applies himself "to the Court, or to the Country, or to the Camp" (331). The Colonel then reverts to the Courtier's complaint that his scheme makes no distinction between Elder and Younger Brothers. That, says the Colonel, was intentional: he feels very strongly about the "ridiculous Preference and Precedence which is given to the First-born, who is taught to know before any Thing else, that he is an elder Brother; that is, that he will have Estate and Observance enough, how little Wit soever he attains to; let him be sure to be proud and ignorant, for he hath where withal to maintain both. Nature and the Law gives him Precedence, and a greater Share in the Inheritance, but that is no Release to the Father of any Part of his Duty in the Education" (331). The Colonel confesses himself quite out of patience with the prevailing situation, and wishes England would copy "that Country, to which we most resort to amend our Breeding", where the greatest care is taken for the education of the eldest son (233).¹⁰

¹⁰The social separation of Elder from Younger Brother is very clearly marked in the seventeenth century, so that Milton, for instance, can thus categorise the sons of the Earl of Bridgewater in Comus (1634). The distinction was one that naturally aroused grave discontent among the younger sons of the gentry, who having been born gentlemen, nevertheless lacked the wealth to maintain their status. The aristocratic father, who tended to gloss over the education of his eldest son, felt his duty towards his younger sons lay only in the provision of a reasonable education that might fit them for commerce, the army or the Court. In times of economic crisis, this obviously put the younger gentry at a disadvantage; their complaints then called in question the whole system of primogeniture that existed in society, and focused

The Courtier asserts that he is now not only convinced, but converted to the view that a sojourn at the Inns of Court would be invaluable. The Bishop, however, at this point accuses the Colonel of a sin of omission: he has said nothing so far about religious instruction. The Colonel counters that in fact religious training has been implicit at every stage of his ideal educational process, particularly in the inculcation of "integrity of Manners" (333). Although opposed to the encouragement of religious disputation, and to "intoxicating the Heads of young People with the Fumes and dark Notions of Religion", he would like to see "a good Negative Catechism of Religion" taught to children "from their Cradle", so that they might know what to avoid; and this "should serve for their full Instruction till they are Men" (333). But the Bishop wants more than this. He would like the young to learn something of "the History of their own Church and Religion", so that when they travel, they might defeat the impudent Reproaches" of foreigners, who hold that "the Church of England hath no other Original or Foundation than the inordinate Lust of Henry the Eighth" (334).¹¹ In addition, he would have them learn

attention on the selfishness of those elder sons who ignored responsibilities to their younger brothers. The difficulties of younger sons are described in Joan Thirsk, "Younger Sons in the Seventeenth Century", History, LIV (182), October 1969, 358-77.

The remarks of Clarendon's Colonel illuminate this contemporary social problem. They constitute not only an indignant outcry against such discrimination and its associated stigmas, but also an urgent plea for at least an equal education for the Elder Brother, that he might the more knowledgably handle his inheritance and perhaps the more keenly recognise his obligations.

¹¹Clarendon the historian appears here in the Bishop's lengthy justification (pp. 333-35) of the sincerity and legality of the English Reformation.

to pray, morning and evening, for God's guidance.

The Lawyer now focuses on the last stage of the Colonel's plan, which is travel, a most controversial issue of the day; he therefore raises the question of the real educational value of travel. The Courtier is quick to point out the great advantage the experienced traveller has at Court: travel teaches fluency in foreign tongues and is the making of ambassadors.¹² The Country Gentleman at once pounces on this, and insists that the Courts of France and Spain do very well in matters diplomatic without learning English. Indeed, glibness in a foreign language is fraught with danger, since it may lead to serious oversights in the making of treaties with foreign powers. Not least, an eagerness to accommodate others in the learning of their tongue may appear an obsequious condescension. In the Alderman's opinion, however, "it is enough that able Men are made more able" by travel (338). The Bishop believes that practice in speaking a foreign language is a valuable benefit of travel, since "the Gift of Tongues" serves "for the Advancement and Propagation of Christianity"; it may also make the English less insular and enhance their general knowledge(338).

In reply, the Colonel concedes that some men undoubtedly learn nothing from travel: "Travel cannot make Men wise in spite of

¹²The gaining of experience through travel is another object of satire in Jacobean drama. Cf. Shakespeare:

Jaques: Yes, I have gained my experience.

Rosalind: And your experience makes you sad. I had rather have a fool to make me merry than experience to make me sad - and to travel for it too.

(As You Like It, IV, 1)

Nature" (339). Even proficiency in speaking foreign languages can be attained by study at home. But for the man of rank and means, who would be most likely to travel, that occupation can provide the greatest advantage in giving him access to foreign dignitaries. As the Colonel sees it, the two great ends of travel are the improvement of abilities and understanding through association with eminent people abroad, and the correction of manners, including national vices, by means of the example shown by those "better instructed and cultivated" (34). Accordingly, he recommends the Grand Tour as starting in France, proceeding to Italy, then Spain, and through France again (spending almost a year in Paris) to Belgium and Holland, returning thence to England. This educational progress should take no more than three years altogether.

The Alderman is critical of the suggested itinerary, holding that a visit to Germany would be of more lasting benefit than a journey to Spain. But the Colonel will have none of it: there is nothing good about Germany in his opinion, and "if they remain there one Year, they had need stay two in France afterwards, that they may entirely forget that they were ever in Germany" (343). Although the Country Gentleman is sceptical about the moral worth of travel, he is willing to admit that it can be beneficial to some.

The Country Gentleman, however, is more concerned about a matter that had been glossed over earlier: why does the Colonel in his ideal educational scheme give so central a place to the theatre, when "many men doubt whether it be lawful" (343)? The Lawyer confesses that he, too, has misgivings about this, since the playhouses constitute

"one of the Corruptions of the Age" (343). In his view play-going is an unseemly extravagance, a gross waste of time and money, to "say nothing of the Prophaneness and Obscenity which dishonours the Stage, and much offends all pious and chaste Ears, nor of that Licence of disguising the Sexes, Men putting on the Clothes of Women, and Women those of Men; an Offence in the Judgement of many against the Text itself" (343-44).¹³ The Alderman defends the stage vigorously. Plays, he asserts, not only furnish delightful recreation for the mind, but also moral uplift, since they "allay that Passion that is most troublesome within them" (344). Moreover, if indeed the stage is infected with licentiousness, the fault lies rather with the censor. As for the matter of "disguising the Sexes", the supposition of its "transgressing the Text is ridiculous, since there is no Purpose of concealing or confounding the Sexes by this temporary Disguise, which is that which is there defended, lest the dissembling the Habit in common Conversation might introduce Customs unwarrantable and dishonest" (344). The Courtier adds that the stage provides for him a place of innocent entertainment.

¹³These allegations rehearse some of the key arguments of Prynne's Histrio-Mastix. One of the most serious was undoubtedly the interchange of sexual roles through the wearing of apparel which appeared to run directly counter to Deuteronomy 22.5: "The woman shall not wear that which pertaineth unto a man, neither shall a man put on a woman's garment: for all that do so are abomination unto the Lord thy God". This was an extremely potent argument that distressed playwrights of the time; it led Ben Jonson to seek the opinion of the great scholar, John Selden, who averred that "the Jews' sole objection to the exchange of apparel by the sexes - its connection with pagan worship - was no longer valid, and that the text, therefore, had no application to the stage". E.N.S. Thompson, The Controversy Between the Puritans and the Stage (New York, rep. 1966), p. 100. Clearly, however, the doubt was not so easily dispelled.

The Colonel defends his position by holding that his system must take account of the youth's leisure; and when he brings him to London, which "is the great and publick Stage of the Kingdom", he ought to put the student in mind of the theatre, which provides "the most innocent Mirth, Wit, and Instruction, that ever was or can be made for the Delight of a Nation" (345). The Colonel describes how man's natural curiosity has always attracted him to shows and spectacles, a fact that kings and princes in history have exploited to their own and the people's good. But just as he would advocate play-going as a pleasurable and profitable mental pastime to Londoners, so he would strongly support hunting and hawking for those in the country, such physical recreations "being manly Exercises, [which] keep the Body still vigorous and in health, and the Mind better disposed to honest and publick Thoughts" (346). Naturally, the Country Gentleman is delighted to hear this expression of the Colonel's belief in mens sana in corpore sano, but he cannot forbear to rub in the superiority of the countrymen over the townsmen: "none of your Travellers ever keep us Company in our Field Sports; their Bones cannot bear leaping a Ditch, nor their Perriwigs a strong Wind; they are only for Chamber Exercises, and such Recreations as may not disorder their Hair or shake their Joints" (346).

The final word is left to the Bishop. Although he does not attend the play-house himself, he would not deny it to others. Like the Colonel, he acknowledges that "wise States" have always catered for the people's desire for such entertainment, and in his opinion the theatre is vindicated, because it provides the innocent refreshment

of the human spirit. So long as the theatre is carefully regulated, he would be satisfied to leave it alone. Yet he would feel happier if something were done about the representation of women by vulgar common actors, who tend to hold up female decorum to ridicule; and if that proves distasteful, perhaps the custom ought to be changed and women allowed to play themselves, for no offence "hath been found when all Parts have been performed by the other Sex" (347).¹⁴ Having said this kind word about the actress, the Bishop adds his thanks for the "excellent Conference," and ends: "I wish my Friends would follow the Colonel's Directions in all Things, and I am confident they will be much the wiser for Travel; and that they who like my other Friends Advice better, if they be governed by them in all Things else, may prove very honest and able Men without it" (348). It is a fitting resolution of the discussion.

Clarendon's tract, then, mirrors the diverse attitudes of the day towards certain aspects of education, the medium of dialogue lending itself to the voicing of all sides of the issues. But throughout the Dialogue Clarendon's own educational ideals are clearly formulated, including his belief that the topic is of concern to all thinking men of his time. The fact that he wished to make education "an Argument apart" (315), when the subject had naturally grown out of the preceding Dialogue . . . of the Want of Respect due to Age, is

¹⁴Since no actresses appeared on the English public stage until the Restoration, the Bishop is either referring to the practice in Italy or France, or to some private performances of which he has knowledge.

testimony enough to the importance he accorded to it. And since education and the Church were so closely linked in men's minds, it seemed merely natural that a representative of the Church should be specially invited for this particular discussion. The men who meet together on this occasion, therefore, represent a microcosm of upper society, the main groups to be found among educated Englishmen in the early seventeenth century: the Country, the City, the Court, the Law, the Army, and the Church.

Although it cannot be denied that his point of view is socially restrictive or selective, Clarendon nowhere suggests that he is opposed to education of the lower classes; it is rather that he prefers to leave this for others to deal with, perhaps sensing the futility of attempting to treat education of the masses, when "good Education is chargeable" (313) - that is, expensive. No doubt, too, his exclusive interest in the nobility and the gentry, "the Children of Persons of Quality" (313), is a function of his background as a member of the Court circle.

It will have been observed that Clarendon begins at much the same stage as Comenius, at the mother's knee, and again like Comenius, he emphasises the importance of play and learning through playing. While stating firmly that formal teaching should not begin too early, Clarendon is equally certain that young children have a definite ability to learn. The latest child-psychology informs us that a child learns more, more rapidly (proportionately) in his first five years, than at any other period in his life. Clarendon is saying something similar; but he also places great weight on the effect of early

influences, so that it is crucial that the child experience only good ones: he would even "set some Guard upon the Cradle itself" (315).

Clarendon, as a courtier, obviously deplores the lack of grace, and the shallow, superficial learning that he meets at Court. It is to the lack of proper training during the early period that he attributes the dreadful gaucherie, unpleasant speech habits and inability to converse with ease that was evidently very prevalent there:

how few there are who make an Entry into a Room, where . . . if they find the Eyes of Men upon them . . . [they] put their Heads and Hands and Feet into Twenty Antick Motions . . . all which proceeds from their not being taught to walk and move in the Age we speak of [when] that natural Assurance which produces Steadiness and Comliness of Motion . . . [is] best received and fixed in us (317).

A properly planned education will eliminate such awkwardness, not only in movement, but also in speech.

The background and loyalties of Clarendon are further exhibited in his adding a Bishop to the group. This not only indicates his belief that religion is an essential part of his scheme of education, but that religion to him means the Established Church, of which, as a Royalist, he was inevitable a staunch supporter. Both Clarendon and Milton were originally destined for the Church, but for widely differing reasons their courses were altered: Clarendon became an "Eldest Son", when his older brothers died, thus making it unnecessary for him to continue his studies at Oxford; Milton, of course, felt a higher vocation. Moreover, Episcopacy was anathema to Milton: the only occasion he would have allowed a bishop to participate in a

learned discussion would have been during a council in Hell!¹⁵

The value to Clarendon of his subsequent education as a lawyer is also clearly evident in the Dialogue. But this personal element is merely a reflection of a social phenomenon, which saw more of the nobility and gentry attending the Inns of Court than the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge combined.

At this period there were in practice not two but three universities in the kingdom. The third was the Inns of Court, whither increasing numbers of young noblemen and gentry resorted in order to study the law and at the same time pick up some of the airs and graces of the near-by Court. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries more nobles and landed gentlemen acquired a smattering of a legal education than at any time before or possibly since. Indeed although the popularity of both the universities and the Inns of Court rose together, the Inns were at all times more frequented by the gentry than both the older universities put together.¹⁶

One feels, however, that the legal training acquired by Clarendon himself at the Middle Temple, with all its concomitant cultural activity, such as the theatre and travel, leads him to parade its merit. Similarly, his budding ability as a politician is related to other emphases in the Dialogue: the necessity for a basic understanding of the ways of government, and the advantage to be gained by exposure to

¹⁵Milton's utter contempt for bishops and the trappings of Episcopacy is evident particularly in Lycidas and various prose works. These "blind mouths" might contribute only to the sort of endless debate of the fallen angels that follows their Grand Consult in Paradise Lost, II.

¹⁶Lawrence Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy 1558-1641 (Oxford, 1965), p. 690.

foreign dignitaries and to the refinements of diplomacy. Hence the courtier, the Royalist, the lawyer and the politician all contributed to Clarendon's scheme of education and directed its course.

The various occupations, loyalties and interests that make up Clarendon the man are paralleled by the various aspects of his scheme of education, which is intended to produce the complete or finished scholar, as equipped in social graces as in formal learning. It is precisely because a well-rounded education requires a healthy body that Clarendon is careful to allot time to riding, dancing, fencing, and other physical activities. In this insistence on the education of the whole man, Clarendon gives voice to an ancient idea, first considered by Plato, Aristotle and Plutarch,¹⁷ and later developed by the early Humanists, like Erasmus and Colet, who maintained that the training of the body should accompany the training of the mind. Although this approach to education that Locke later described as "the sound mind in the sound body", was far from new, "the idea of all-round education for young men of birth became a popular and influential one" in England through the works of such men as Elyot, whose Boke named the Governour, published in 1531, also deals, like Clarendon's Dialogue, with the education of an elite.¹⁸ Indeed, there was a growing propensity, as Roger Ascham puts it, "to joyne learning with cumlie exercises".¹⁹ But the idea of "manly exercises" is also derived from

¹⁷Constance I. Smith, "Some Ideas on Education Before Locke", Journal of the History of Ideas, XXIII (3), (July-Sept., 1962), 403.

¹⁸Jarman, p. 187.

¹⁹Ascham quoted in Jarman, p. 183.

the gallantry of the chivalric code, which was part of Clarendon's heritage, in so far as in Tudor England humanism and the old training of chivalry met and blended.

Here it should be noted that after the 1530s there tended to develop in England two currents of thought on education. First, among the nobility there was propagated the extreme form of humanism castigated by Erasmus, that one learns purely for ornament, for pleasure; the view that "too much learning lowers the dignity of rank" tended to prevail.²⁰ It is precisely against this attitude that Clarendon strongly inveighs (the Colonel says it quite "drives all Patience" [322] from him) in his insistence that the eldest son be educated at least as well as his younger brothers in order to manage faithfully his patrimony. But if "gentlemen were beginning to appreciate learning in relation to its uselessness, there were others to value it according to its use and the benefits it might bring".²¹ This was the second stream of educational opinion: the application of knowledge to social and economic needs. Bacon revitalised the issue, though the point is sometimes overlooked that he did not thus dismiss valuable aspects of knowledge, which were not directly applicable to "useful" purposes. When, from 1640 on, Bacon's ideas became readily available and were widely discussed, this utilitarian view became more deeply entrenched. A study of his Dialogue makes plain that Clarendon was well aware of

²⁰ Simon, Education and Society, p. 394.

²¹ *ibid.*, p. 397.

the urgent need to bend the education of the gentry towards this more practical goal. His views are consequently wholly in line with the educational thought of his day, representing as they do a serious attempt to grapple with many of the contemporary social problems afflicting the aristocracy. For that reason his Dialogue shares a significant place with other educational treatises of the seventeenth century, and certainly ought not to be neglected any longer.

CHAPTER IV

A PARLIAMENTARIAN'S VIEW: MILTON ON EDUCATION

To turn from Clarendon's Dialogue . . . concerning Education to Milton's Tractate Of Education (1644) is to undergo an experience of tension, as the mind is abruptly switched to a higher degree of intellectual alertness. It is immediately clear that these two treatises, while they may complement or accord with each other on certain points, differ in a number of respects, not least in their mode of presentation. Clarendon's colloquial style, with its ample digressions and discursiveness, is quite unlike the compact and concentrated epistolary form utilised by Milton. Where Clarendon remains Clarendon, Milton becomes Miltonic. And the neat, terse account Milton gives of a specific, but sometimes complex, ideal in education is an excellent example of "strong lines," sentences packed with a density of meaning, for which Miltonic prose is justly famous.

Yet once having adjusted to the change in pace and style, one begins to feel a little more at home with the Tractate. Comparisons and contrasts with Clarendon soon suggest themselves. Although for the sake of brevity, as he tells us, Milton does not begin "as some have done from the cradle" (414),¹ nor seek to follow, or fall

¹Page references to Milton's Of Education will be given in the text itself and refer to CPW, II.

in line with, current discussions on education, as his somewhat satirical allusion at the outset to the works of Comenius indicates, he does propose an explicit form of education. What he presents is in fact a "voluntary Idea, which hath long in silence presented it self to [him], of a better Education" (364). His purpose is to lay down definite principles for the education of boys, many of whom will, he hopes, as a result become "renowned and matchlesse men" (385). From this point of view, Milton is as selective as Clarendon, for his scheme provides a "generous Education" (378); that is, an education befitting one of noble birth or spirit.² In its scope, however, Milton's plan goes far beyond Clarendon's. Since the Dialogue is restricted by an otherwise valuable orientation to the social problems of the English aristocracy, it misses the profundity that the Tractate achieves. Milton, as ever, addresses himself to much deeper and more universal issues, both ethical and religious, than the immediate occasion seemingly demands. One can easily point the difference by comparing their respective aspirations concerning religious education. Where Clarendon has his Bishop advocate the learning of church history with the purpose of vindicating the established Church, Milton seeks no narrow or insular end in recommending his study of the Church, but is rather concerned with the justification of Christianity itself.

This ability to look at educational issues in an independent fashion and with extensive view befits one who among English writers is

²CPW, II, 378, n.56.

the most individual and distinctive and for whom no single appellation -- Parliamentarian or Puritan or Humanist -- will suffice. This is to assert that Milton in his Tractate, as in his other works, is best understood as sui generis. But just as Clarendon's aristocratic background colours and constricts and conserves his opinions, so the liberalising tendencies of Milton's own studies lead him to be extremely radical and frequently unique in the timelessness of his vision.³ This radicalism is very evident in Of Education, for unlike Clarendon, who is more than willing to accept Oxford and Cambridge with relatively mild changes and improvements, Milton would by-pass the existing universities altogether. He would found an entirely new institution instead, one that would be "at once both School and University" (380). It is to be realised by means of the establishment of academies, one in every city, each to take about one hundred and fifty boys between the ages of eleven and twenty-one. Nor does such an original scheme indicate scorn for the establishments of higher learning per se; only that those bastions of the higher learning ought to be restricted to training for professions such as law and medicine,⁴ and only after their students have acquired "a compleat and generous Education" (378), because such specialised training is for those who are "fraught with a universall insight into

³An obvious example of this is Areopagitica (1644), its value unrecognised in Milton's time, and now a definitive work on the subject of unlicensed printing or censorship.

⁴Deliberately, it would seem, Milton ignores "the Church." Though undoubtedly he regarded that as a most learned profession, by his neglect he makes plain, as in Lycidas, his scorn for the shocking standards of the clergy of his time. The omission conveys a great deal more than could have been expressed by simply including the Church. Milton was not one to waste words.

things" (406).

Again like Clarendon, Milton is all too familiar with the futility of sending students abroad, before they are ready to derive any real benefit from the experience of foreign travel. That, in Milton's opinion, might wait until the completion of the academy course. "Nor shall we then need the Mounsieurs of Paris to take our hopefull youth into thir slight and prodigall custodies and send them over back again transform'd into mimics, apes & Kicsshoes" (414). Milton agrees with both Clarendon and Bacon that foreign travel can broaden the mind and add the finishing touches to formal education; but as with training for a profession, there is a proper time for it.

Everything in its place; all in due season. Such is a peculiar quality of Milton's Tractate that appears the more strongly characteristic, when one approaches it after a reading of the conversational give-and-take of the Dialogue. And yet the circumstances that gave the work birth were not entirely opportune. Milton himself was not certain that Samuel Hartlib had chosen the most propitious time to ask him "to write now the reforming of Education" (362); he had already set aside his poetic plans to participate in the political and social struggles of the day, his main concern being the defence of liberty, both religious and civil. That he did take time to write his tract on education, even in the form of a relatively brief letter, is therefore highly significant: it shows not only the importance he attaches to education, but also his conviction that progress towards the ideal society can be achieved only by those who are adequately learned. Hartlib's reaction to Milton's response is nowhere recorded, but it seems safe to conjecture that since Of Education

actually did nothing to advance Comenian ideas, as it "shows no awareness whatever of the educational needs of the English masses,"⁵ Hartlib may well have been disappointed. However, evidence exists to suggest that while he did not actually publish Milton's tract, as he did so many others, Hartlib did send copies to a few acquaintances for their perusal.⁶

As one might expect, the educational aim that Milton enunciates at the beginning of his tract is no mean one, no mere encompassing of a local social or economic goal. It is no less than the object of life itself:

The end then of learning is to repair the ruins
of our first parents by regaining to know God
aright, and out of that knowledge to love him,
to imitate him, to be like him. (366-67)

But lofty as this aim is, it is firmly anchored to an earthly conception of the method of achieving it:

But because our understanding cannot in this body
found it selfe but on sensible things, nor arrive
so cleerly to the knowledge of God and things
invisible, as by orderly conning over the visible
and inferior creature, the same method is neces-
sarily to be follow'd in all discreet teaching.
(367-69)

Other reformers of the period were certainly saying much the same thing: go from the visible to the invisible, the sensible to the intellectual, the known to the unknown. It was, after all, an ancient idea both Platonic and Pauline, that Christ himself had authorised in His teaching practice; and Milton has no difficulty in linking it later

⁵Wolfe, p. 356.

⁶Turnbull, p. 39.

with the medieval notion of the Great Chain of Being. Here he insists that the method is "by orderly conning over". The emphasis is as we shall see, upon order, upon a "methodicall" progression (406).

It is not surprising, therefore, to find in the Tractate a highly specific course of academic study laid out. First, the boys have to be taught the basic rules of grammar, sufficient to give them a working ability, and they must learn also from the start how to speak clearly and distinctly. To facilitate the acquisition of pleasant speech, Milton believes they should learn the mellifluous Italian vowel sounds.⁷ Arithmetic and geometry are also to be introduced early, but painlessly, through play.⁸ Between supper and bedtime, the boys should study "easie grounds of Religion" (387), which implies the rudiments of theology, as well as knowledge of the Bible. The initial stage would therefore incorporate grammar, speech-training, some mathematics, theology and the Scriptures. The next step is the study of agriculture, which should enable them "to improve the tillage of their country" (389) and promote conservation, together with geography, physics, the natural sciences and some Greek. Some kind of technological training might also be received now: "Fortification, Architecture, Enginry, or navigation" (392). From the pursuit of "the History of Meteors, minerals, plants and living creatures as farre as Anatomy" (392), they may proceed to

⁷At this stage only Italian vowel sounds are to be taught and practised, the purpose being to make the boys open their mouths properly when speaking. Milton blames the cold climate for the Englishman's tendency to mumble.

⁸Plato suggested this play method, which he claimed was invented by the Egyptians. CPW, II, 387, n. 82.

an elementary acquaintance with medicine. Since these studies are naturally best taught by specialists, the academies should invite or employ visiting lecturers, who are experienced in their particular fields.

Although Milton is not (doubtless significantly) explicit about ages, it seems reasonable to infer that the boys who progress so far will be about sixteen years' old. At any rate, after they mature sufficiently as moral agents, experienced in "proairesis" (that is, "choice"), Milton would bring them to the practice of the contemplation of "morall good and evill" (396). This is to be accomplished through the study of Plato, Cicero, Plutarch, and other authors by day, and by readings, from the Old Testament, the Gospels and St. Paul by night. Now, too, is the time to acquire Italian, and begin a study of economics, though this should be undertaken only after the boys have mastered the art of self-discipline, for without "the knowledge of personall duty" (397), duty towards others cannot be properly recognised. Appropriate also at this time is the savouring of Greek and Roman comedies and some tragedies, which will supplement and reinforce the study of economics.⁹ After this comes a study of politics and law (Roman, Saxon and English Common law), and the learning of Hebrew and Syriac, along with theology, church history and classical oratory. Only now should logic be taught, just "so much as is usefull" (402), and then the open palm

⁹By "economics" Milton means management of household and family affairs. This is why he specifically recommends comedies and tragedies "that treat of household matters" (398).

of rhetoric made manifest from Plato, Aristotle, Cicero and others.¹⁰ Last comes poetry, "that sublime art" (404) which is "simple, sensuous and passionate" (403). The boys must learn the true law of epic poetry from Aristotle, Horace and the Italians, the object being to "shew them, what Religious, what glorious and magnificent use might be made of Poetry both in divine and humane things" (405-6). Educated thus, the boys ought to be ready for the world and fit to become writers or composers, clergymen or members of parliament.

These are the studies. But there are also "exercises" and "recreations" that "best agree, and become these studies" (407). For an hour and a half before the noon meal, the boys are to practise swordmanship and the popular English sport of wrestling. This is to be followed by a rest period, when they will listen to music, whose charming power may beguile them, "smooth and make them gentle" (411). Further exercise and study are combined in military training: the boys are to form a sort of army cadet corps and to play war games; they are to plan and engage in mock-combat, act as infantry and cavalry, learn strategy and tactics, both ancient and modern, and to do all regularly and "with much exactnesse" (411). In addition, other activities are to be undertaken at convenient seasons: Milton would have his students go on field-trips and enjoy the beauties of nature, all the while observing and learning in town, country and seaport. He would even have them

¹⁰Milton employs here two symbols, well-known in the Renaissance, of logic as the closed fist and rhetoric as the open hand. Cf. ". . . the idea of making a few preliminary remarks with open hand, as we say, and rhetorical exuberance, on the subject . . . which is presently to be discussed as it were with closed fist" (CPW, I, 234).

put out to sea for a spell. And having learned "principles" well at home, they will at age twenty-three or twenty-four be adequately prepared for travel abroad "to enlarge experience, and make wise observation" (414). So exercised, they should indeed then be worthy envoys.

In view of Milton's avowed aim, his curriculum is hardly expected. Yet this is merely another attribute of his great originality, for while others shared his ideal of the educational goal, none thought to achieve it in this way. Comenius' aim, for instance, is very close to Milton's. "The general aim," he writes, "is to restore man to the lost image of God, i.e. to the lost perfection of the free will which consists in the choice of good and the repudiation of evil."¹¹ Where these educators differ, however, becomes immediately apparent, when we examine the curricula they propose. Comenius has a negative attitude towards pagan authors, allowing for use only those parts of their works that deal with virtue and honesty. Milton's approach, on the other hand, is thoroughly positive: he would introduce such works in an order commensurate with the pupils' maturity; and though such "wholesome" studies should be served "with warinesse and good antidote" (397), they would certainly not be denied. Here, as always, Milton is responding to the challenge of the problem, and his answer, as usual, is uniquely personal. His whole scheme is the result of what he is, as much as of the social, religious and political context in which he finds himself. Thus, although it is possible to trace the sources of his thoughts and even

¹¹Quoted in Sadler, p. 206.

equate them with current educational opinion, Milton is highly individualistic in the way he combines ideas, in the emphases he makes and in the order in which he presents these ideas.

No doubt it is inevitable that writers who treat the same topic will make certain statements that are shared or commonplace, and it is often easier to trace those than to discover differences implied or hidden in the text. Foster Watson, for example, tracks down the source of the Tractate to Vives, while Clark as justifiably traces it to St. Paul's School.¹² Such general statements as these tend to be misleading. Clark further assumes that St. Paul's was similar to other grammar schools of the day, when in fact it was radically different in a number of respects.¹³ It is perhaps not surprising that Clark should endorse Adamson's conclusion that Milton's treatise is "a negligible quantity in the history of pedagogy."¹⁴ While Adamson appears to accept Milton's preference to write from personal experience, he sees his early reference to "modern Janua's and Didactics" (364) as a "lofty dismissal" of Comenian claims, and utterly fails to appreciate the very real value inherent in the fact that, even if "Milton's 'soul was like a star,

¹²On this see Foster Watson, "A Suggested Source of Milton's Tractate of Education," Nineteenth Century, LXVI, (July - Dec., 1909), and Donald L. Clark, John Milton at St. Paul's School (New York, 1964), pp. 250-51.

¹³Clark gives the impression that St. Paul's School was a traditional grammar school, and that Milton was well satisfied with the grammar schools of his day. Yet Clark earlier recounts how Colet "was had up for heracy" because he allowed (and encouraged the reading of) pagan poets. Clark does not make the point that while Milton was fortunate in having attended St. Paul's, he nevertheless found it far short of his ideal (pp. 101, 250-51).

¹⁴Clark, p. 108; Adamson, p. 127.

and dwelt apart'", he is nevertheless here writing from actual experience.¹⁵ Moreover, Adamson complains that in the Tractate "knowledge is but seldom acquired in the first-hand fashion which Comenius insists upon."¹⁶ Two points can be brought against this criticism: first, Milton emphasises that he does not intend to follow the scheme of anyone else; and second, he does in fact strongly advocate the inclusion of field-trips, with the object of bringing his students into primary contact with the sensible world. It is at least arguable that Milton is more realistic than Comenius, for he accepts the hard fact that most knowledge cannot be gained at first-hand, that language, especially written language, is really the utensil that conveys it. Indeed, as far as direct experience is concerned, Milton's order is quite unlike that of Comenius; according to Milton, you should read about a subject, hear experts discuss it, and then go and see it or experience it, after you have already some understanding of what it is all about.¹⁷ The emphasis, too, is different. Milton's field-trips serve a dual purpose, furnishing not only direct perceptual experience, but also the additional sensation of pleasure, since the outing is to be delightful as well as instructive: "in those vernal seasons of the year, when the air is calm and pleasant, it were an injury and sullenness against nature not to go out, and see her riches, and partake in her rejoicing with heaven and earth" (412-13). The poet of the Fall, acquainted only too well with the "penalty of

¹⁵Adamson, p. 127.

¹⁶ibid., p. 126.

¹⁷It should be remembered, however, that Milton is discussing the education of boys of eleven and over.

Adam" in the rigours of the northern climate, is also the singer of L'Allegro, who appreciates the delights of Spring and the English countryside.

Certainly throughout the Tractate Milton makes plain his contempt for the disordered scheme of learning in the schools of his day. He is particularly concerned about the whole approach to the learning of languages. "Language," he remarks, "is but the instrument conveying to us things usefull to be known" (369). And Latin was undoubtedly the primary tool, since the majority of published texts were written in that language. There is no question that Latin was essential then, and a look at the curriculum of St. Paul's School, as it was some fifty years after Milton's own school-days, provides a clear idea of the predominance of Latin. For the first class, Monday to Friday mornings were devoted to "a Part in the Latin Grammar," while the afternoons were given over to sentence-structure.¹⁸ Undoubtedly here was the evil root, from which grew the "many mistakes which have made learning generally so unpleasing and so unsuccessfull" (370). Milton rails also against the habit of "forcing the empty wits of children to compose Theams, verses, and Orations" (372); boys, he believes, should not be asked to compose until their heads are filled with all kinds of interesting things, nor until they have developed enough critical judgement to write something worth while. Moreover, to use literature for the purpose of teaching grammar is totally to misplace the emphasis: literature should be

¹⁸Clark, pp. 109ff.

studied for its own sake, and only those points of grammar beneficial to appreciation need be taught. In short, to waste so much time on grammar and on the premature practice of composition is to overlook completely the principal function of language and to destroy irretrievably the natural joy in its use. One result of such malpractice in the past was that pupils grew "into hatred and contempt of learning" (375); another, that the end-product often fell far below any acceptable standard. The quality of common language-learning Milton dismisses at one point as "law French" (383); and the editor of the Yale edition of the Tractate gives an amusing example of what he means: ". . . a prisoner 'que puis son condemnation ject un brickbat a le dit justice que narrowly mist'." ¹⁹

Despite his constant criticism of the prevailing mode of instruction, Milton never wavers in his faith in the virtue of learning foreign languages. He believes, of course, that it is better to speak English alone very well than mouth any number of other tongues poorly or without any real understanding. But he insists that these languages, properly taught, become keys to open doors that give entry to the wisdom of other nations and bygone ages. To Milton, reading and writing are two sides of a triangle; the third side, oral expression, is equally important. That he cannot abide improper pronunciation in any language and is especially annoyed by the anglicised Latin (383) he hears around him is hardly to be wondered at, when one recalls his musical training and sensitive ear. And yet there was a more profound reason

¹⁹CPW, II, 383, n.69.

for his concern. Six years before writing Of Education, Milton had expressed this anxiety: "I. . . believe that the downfall of [a] city and its consequent meanness of affairs, might follow blemish and error in speech". This idea which he develops from Plato's notion that "grave actions and mutations in the Republic are portended by changed custom and style in dressing" reveals the intensity of his belief in the value of proper learning of languages.²⁰

Although he relies upon and refers throughout to "old renowned Authors," his course of study being "likest to those ancient and famous schools of Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle and such others" (407), Milton is very much aware of new trends that create the need for additions to the curriculum. He is far-sighted enough to be very modern in this respect. Thus his inclusion of early and thorough teaching of mathematics is most advanced: it is "progressive, if not indeed unique for his time."²¹ Unfortunately, English education was backward in the teaching of mathematics. About 1628, Thomas Hobbes, at age forty began the study of geometry; ten years later, Milton himself was travelling regularly from Horton to London to take lessons in mathematics; and in 1662, Samuel Pepys, then twenty-nine, was tackling multiplication tables.²² All three probably took lessons from "mathematical practitioners." Certainly there were no school-texts on the subject; the existing works "were designed to be 'do-it-yourself'" books.²³ Again, Milton believes in

²⁰ibid., I, 329-30.

²¹ibid., II, 386, n. 82.

²²ibid., II, 387, n. 82, Hughes, p. 1039.

²³Bidwell, "Arithmetic in England," 486.

adding to the currently popular languages in the curriculum any that provide access to further useful knowledge. Hebrew was taught in some grammar schools; to it Milton would add Syriac and Chaldee. He recommends also the learning of romance languages, believing that after Latin has been mastered, fluency in Italian (and French) might be relatively easily attained.²⁴

Perhaps the most striking single feature of the curriculum advocated in the Tractate is the almost computerised progression of the course of study. Everything is "seasonable"; all is ordered, smoothed and dove-tailed. The boys "proceed by the stedly pace of learning" (406) from one stage to the next; each subject follows a strict sequence, going always from the close at hand and familiar to the remote and unknown. For instance, after learning about "economics," pupils progress through "Politics" and citizenship to law, then on to theology -- that is, from the home to the city, to government, to divine matters. The method, one recalls, is that outlined in Paradise Lost by Adam in response to his teacher, Raphael:

Well hast thou taught the way that might direct
Our knowledge, and the scale of Nature set
From centre to circumference, whereon
In contemplation of created things
By steps we may ascend to God.²⁵

It is a procedure analogous to the ancient concept of the Great Chain of Being, involving as it does an orderly progression "from matter and

²⁴Milton implies the easy assimilation of Italian after Latin has been mastered. He does not mention French in the Tractate, but he introduced his own pupils to both French and Spanish.

²⁵Hughes, Complete Poetry and Major Prose, p. 314.

plants to living creatures," and eventually to the knowledge of God.²⁶ Further, this preoccupation with the correct sequence of studies is everywhere expressed in the Tractate. At the outset, Milton insists on "orderly conning" (369); the boys are to be "lesson'd thoroughly . . . then proceed . . . in due order" (373-74); a study "will be then seasonable" (389), so that "they may then begin the study" (397). From time to time Milton also sounds a warning note, mainly on the danger of "the plucking of untimely fruit" (373).²⁷ He would not confront "young unmatriculated novices at first comming with the most intellective abstractions of Logick & metaphysicks" (374); instead, it "is to be referr'd to this due place" (402), and "is to be thus order'd" (379). Ultimately it becomes plain that this passion for order is not the mere product of whim or fancy, nor even of reaction to the chaotic situation in the schools, but rather the correlative of Milton's own educational aim. In a well-known passage in The Reason of Church-Government (1641), he had declared that

discipline is not only the removall of disorder,
but if any visible shape can be given to divine
things, the very visible shape and image of vertue,
whereby she is not only seene in the regular
gestures and motions of her heavenly paces as she
walkes, but also makes the harmony of her voice
audible to mortall eares.²⁸

²⁶On this see William Riley Parker, "Education: Milton's Ideas and Ours," College English, 24 (1), (October, 1962), 5.

²⁷The image recalls the more famous metaphor at the beginning of Lycidas (1637), where the singer laments the unseasonableness of the occasion, which forces him to sing before he is ready:

I come to pluck your Berries harsh and crude,
And with forc'd fingers rude,
Shatter your leaves before the mellowing year.
(ll. 3-5)

²⁸CPW, I, 751-52.

What better way to accomplish the aim of "regaining to know God aright" than by revealing "the very visible shape and image of vertue" through the eloquent design of the educational process itself?

Milton's pedagogical insight is exhibited not merely in the manner in which he organises his curriculum, but also in the exemplary role he assigns the instructor. In his opinion, a teacher is one "who hath the Art, and proper eloquence to catch them with, what with mild and effectuall perswasions, and what with the intimation of some fear, if need be, but chiefly by his own example" (385). This insistence on teaching by example, using gentle persuasion alone, is most interesting, since it is reasonable to infer from it Milton's awareness of the growing concern over the use of corporal punishment in seventeenth-century English schools. The beating of pupils was indeed excessive, and as the Children's Petition of 1669 all too vividly illustrates, it amounted at times to sadism.²⁹ For Milton the compelling of the student against his will constitutes a negation of the learning-experience, which ought to be "a happy nurture" (377). It is remarkable how the word "delight" abounds in the Tractate. After a recess, Milton would have his pupils go "back to study in good tune and satisfaction" (411), while to ensure their proper motivation, he would "lead and draw them in willing obedience, enflam'd with the study of learning, and the admiration of vertue" (384-85). Moreover, like any teacher worth his salt, he would reinforce

²⁹This plea for government action went unheeded as did the efforts of such people as Viscount Raynham, Mr. Dunlop and the Marquess of Townshend, all of whom attempted to introduce legislation two centuries later. See C.B. Freeman, "The Children's Petition of 1669 and its Sequel," British Journal of Educational Studies, 14 (May, 1966), 216-23.

learning in a number of pleasant ways. William Riley Parker finds Milton using the introduction of a second language both to go over work already studied and as a medium to teach new material. In addition, "those Poets . . . both facil and pleasant" that Milton recommends, once the boys have "a reall tincture of naturall knowledge," (394) all "deal with things they [have] already learned."³⁰ So it is that his boys are constantly reviewing; but imperceptibly, and without tears. Yet this may not be enough; and so "at convenient times for memories sake," Milton would "retire back into the middle ward and sometimes into the rear of what they have been taught" (406-7). Here is another instance of Milton's pedagogical astuteness, for the observation fits in with his recognition of individual differences, which is, if not unique, assuredly most unusual for his time. Occasionally he asserts that pupils "might" be ready for the next part of the course, indicating that some may require to spend longer over the preceding stage; and he talks of "all their peculiar gifts of nature" (413). Earlier he had written in his Commonplace Book: "The nature of each person should be especially observed and not bent in another direction; for God does not intend all people for one thing, but for each one his own work."³¹ Although he believed in the equality of all men before God, he was not blind to the inescapable truth that some are destined to be hewers of wood and drawers of water, and his educational scheme takes consistent account of the logical consequence of this unalterable fact.

³⁰Parker, 5.

³¹CPW, I, 405.

In accepting education as a "disciplinary way" (406) to prepare man to participate "justly skilfully and magnanimously" (379) in all walks of life, Milton displays a strongly humanistic inclination. Like Erasmus, and Colet, he perceives the advantage to be gained from the acquisition of military skills.³² While this may have some immediate relevance to the state of affairs in 1644 -- the first Civil War had begun in April, 1643 -- Milton appreciates a more profound value in military "motions" for both peace and war: "This institution of breeding which I here delineate shall be equally good for both Peace and warre" (408).³³ This martial activity develops qualities of leadership, tests the ingenuity, and will "prove and heat their single strength" in a way that mere physical exercise never can, though that will "make them grow large, and tall" (409). The usefulness of military training, then, lies in its combination of both mind and body, in its integration of the complete man. But although so much is commonly known, it is not so often recognised just how crucial for Milton is this conjunction of exercise without, both military and athletic, and durable virtue within. Such exercise as he advocates, he explains, "temper'd with seasonable lectures and precepts to them of true fortitude and patience, will turn into a native and heroick valour, and make them hate the cowardise of doing wrong" (409). And here we touch what is for Milton the real and lasting benefit of disciplined participation in the sports of stratagems and drills, of wrestling and sea-fighting, of fencing and hiking: the

³²Cf. Robert P. Adams, The Better Part of Valor (Seattle, 1962), pp. 296-98, 336, n. 8.

³³CPW, I, 491-96.

orderly strengthening of the body which these induce proceeds apace with the development of a magical inner core that actively pursues virtue and liberty, when as if by metamorphosis, the mind becomes girt around with a ring of steel to preserve its chastity.

While Of Education undoubtedly contains Milton's ideal concept of education, he later allows that there is room for other schemes with different basic purposes. In The Likeliest Means to Remove Hirelings (1659), for example, he sketches a simple plan, based on methods used by Christ's disciples, to provide religious instruction throughout the country. In the same work he also outlines a project to finance by public funds a system of vocational training in schools, where all may be taught freely.³⁴ However, in The Ready and Easy Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth (1660), he returns to the idea of the academy, where children may have a "noble education -- not in grammar only, but in all liberal arts and exercises."³⁵ The truth is that all his works, both prose and poetry, tend to be educational, and all show a fine sense of the way in which for Milton, no less than for his fellow-man, education never ends. By means of the course of study set out in Of Education, man can hope to achieve that discipline through which alone true liberty can be attained. It is in thus consistently breaching the surface to touch reality, the soul of man, that Milton achieves a universality that is frequently lacking in the writings of other seventeenth-century educational reformers.

³⁴Hughes, pp. 870-71.

³⁵ibid., p. 897.

Although Milton's tract is not directly related to the many other works on education written from the beginning of the sixteenth century, the views expressed in it stem, at least in part, from a common root of Christian humanism, and a general application of its principles to the problems of society. The schemes of such men as Comenius were directed towards universal education. Theirs was a broad concept of schooling to fit children for any walk of life. Clarendon's programme was considerably narrower, limited as it was to the education of an elite. The Tractate may be regarded as also limited in a sense, for Milton was concerned with the education of the Christian pilgrim on his journey to regain Paradise. Since the supreme importance of education for Milton thus lies in inculcating a discipline, than which there is "not that thing in the world of more grave and urgent importance throughout the whole life of man;"³⁶ a discipline, moreover, that is at once the source of steadfast virtue and strenuous liberty, his Tractate is relevant not only to his own day, but being timeless, can be directed to any age. Its success, we may acknowledge, resides in the unity attained by the correspondence of curriculum and teaching-method, the ultimate attainment of goal, and the oneness felt with his "more general views of virtue, liberty and man's place in the divine scheme of things".³⁷ Though pitifully lacking the sinews of Ulysses ourselves, we may recognise the work of genius, and be grateful for it.

³⁶Quoted in Hill, Society and Puritanism, p. 225.

³⁷CPW, II, 359.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The history of education is at such a primitive stage, both in the collection of data and the formulation of concepts, that it is impossible to provide more than tentative and provisional answers to the many questions involved.¹

Historians have only lately come to recognise that Clio's domain extends to education. Earlier, the study of the history of education had been left almost entirely to the professional educators, who appreciating the value of a foundation course on which teachers-in-training might build, attempted to fill this serious lacuna in scholarship themselves. Their treatment of the subject was often (sometimes unhelpfully) scorned by historians, who correctly perceived that those early histories of education tended to isolate the discipline from the mainstream of social, religious and political history, and thereby to become disreputably "institution-oriented," sterile and quite unhistorical. For example, Adamson in his Pioneers of Education, first published in 1905, hoped to show "the relationship, direct and unmistakeable, between the theory and practice of the modern school-room and the changes which were suggested . . . in the earlier time" -- specifically, the seventeenth century.² With this end in view,

¹Lawrence Stone, as quoted in H.C. Porter, review of Joan Simon, Education and Society in Tudor England, in History, 55 (183), February, 1970, 111.

²Adamson, Preface, p. v.

Adamson proceeded to write an educational history that actually fails as history in two ways: He separates educational thought and practice from the tide of human affairs, and he tries to make past ideas fit present procedures. Although the book remains valuable as a source of much information concerning seventeenth-century pedagogy, Adamson's non-historical approach, typical of its kind, is the cause of much heart-searching and reform-seeking among those most vitally concerned with the subject.

In retrospect, it is not difficult to discern the stumbling-blocks in the development of a recognisable discipline of the "history of education". The attempt to set education in a context that inevitably led to an over-wide coverage, where the educational faded into the cultural and became much too general; the study of the writings of individual educators in isolation; the collecting of all pertinent evidence limited to one geographical location; the examination of only one particular aspect of pedagogical endeavour or of a specific educational institution alone -- all of these approaches have been criticised, and rightly. Yet, like the pieces of a jigsaw, each is valuable in combination with the others, including the older, much-maligned, factual histories. Nowadays we can appreciate this, because we have come to take a much broader view, to realise that the educational system is crucial to the understanding of any society, since it represents the attempt of one generation to impose its values and aspirations on the succeeding generation. And nowhere is this awareness and newly-disciplined approach more apparent than in studies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Perhaps this is not really

surprising, when one considers the proliferation of educational ideas and ideals expressed in this most turbulent era, a period of great social and political upheaval, which undoubtedly was at its height between 1630 and 1660.

In this study an effort has been made to look at English education during this stimulating revolutionary period with the above approaches in mind. Between 1608, when both Clarendon and Milton were born, and 1674, when they both died, there were three monarchs, two Lord Protectors; there were two Bishops' Wars, a rebellion in Ireland, two civil wars and three wars against the Dutch; there was a Great Plague and a Great Fire in London. Bare historical facts, those tell us little about the people or everyday life, but they do give an impression of how unsettled and unsettling the English scene was. However, during his own lifetime, any individual in any age has a feeling of continuity, because society changes only gradually to meet new needs and new ideas. The Englishman in the seventeenth century was very slow in realising that his attitudes were dominated by outmoded conventions. The process of discovering this was considerably delayed by state and church intervention in education. When this brake was released, there was an upsurge of "reform-fever," not least in the field of education. As Dury said in 1649: "The advancement of learning hath been oftener, and in a more public way, at least mentioned in this nation of late than in former times".³

³Quoted in Hill, Intellectual Origins, p. 117.

The key phrase here is "at least mentioned". One could, with hindsight, alter this to a more realistic "only mentioned". Why was it, that though the time seemed so propitious, and optimism ran so high, few if any of the hopes of the reformers were realised? There were two obvious impediments. First, the political situation, with which the Long Parliament had to grapple, checked the impetus to reform. This parliament's early and sustained concern for education was a genuine reformist impulse which was dissipated when it had to compete with other important concerns. Parliament had time to do little more than maintain the existing system. It gave its support willingly to existing schools and supplied funds to open many more of similar type; but somehow reform never got beyond being merely "mentioned". In 1650, for instance, in the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, there is an entry: "When the propositions for reforming schools are presented, Council will give them all possible furtherance"; but there is no indication of what or whose proposals, and no mention in known documents of whether such a presentation was ever indeed made.⁴ Moreover, those reforms which were made under Cromwell were actually motivated less from a belief in the value of learning than from a love of piety: they were "primarily a means of evangelizing the country".⁵ Second, with the Restoration came reaction. Many of the schoolmasters, dismissed by Cromwell because of their Royalist or religious convictions, were promptly reinstated. The political and religious restraint that

⁴Vincent, p. 80.

⁵Trevor-Roper, p. 429.

swept the country was accompanied by a sharp recoil from Puritanism and Republicanism. This gave support to those who, even before the Restoration, had feared the democratic implications of many of the suggested reforms in education, and so the aristocratic ideal in education was strengthened. The Royal Society, fearing a premature death, withdrew its support from the reformers and disavowed any association with or interest in educational reform, politics or religion in favour of "royal protection."⁶ In thus restricting its field of endeavour to science, the Royal Society was reflecting the current outlook, for there was a general narrowing of the broad humanistic view of the preceding decades. This is further mirrored in the increasing support given to Charity Schools, and in the urging of the poor to regard hard work as good for the soul, evidence of a kind of pseudo-piety that must have lain ill with Hartlib, in particular.

The clarion call of educators in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries might well be summed up in a remark made by Pope Pius XI in 1936: "It must never be forgotten that the subject of Christian education is man whole and entire." There was nothing false or condescending about this piety; for these seventeenth-century reformers religion was all-pervasive. If their cause was continued after 1660, it was in the dissenting academies and private schools that sprang up because of, and that survived in spite of, the Clarendon Code, a document that surely put an undeserved blot on Clarendon's name, since he was less the instigator than the editor of

⁶Sadler, p. 149; Trevor-Roper, p. 289.

the iniquitous legislation it embodied. These dissenting academies and schools were staffed initially by those schoolmasters ousted from their positions when Royalist supporters were reinstated, and they constituted a blending of Clarendon's and Milton's schemes. A few eventually became "at once both School and University," and some taught modern languages and mathematics, as Milton had done earlier. But the desire of the "three foreigners" to provide schooling for all and the Miltonic ethical and religious ideal were conspicuously absent.

All of the reformers or projectors discussed in this study had ideas in common with each other and with ancient authors, but they also had biases that were dictated by their upbringing, their own education and their social status. Each developed individual ideals that resulted from their personal experiences and the kind of lives they had chosen or were forced to live. Hartlib, Dury and Comenius had all been exposed to discrimination, and to the harsh treatment that society can mete out to individuals and groups. Further, these men had lived and worked in foreign countries, not merely toured them. Their first-hand experience of such vicissitudes undoubtedly affected their attitudes and urged upon them a broader view of life in general that tended to bring their plans for schooling down to a level suited to the practical educating of the masses. This practicality was the main force behind their universality.

Clarendon, on the other hand, had known little more than the aristocratic way of life when he wrote his Dialogue, so what he wrote was very representative of the attitudes and aspirations of this social group. His tract provides many glimpses of life as it was

among the aristocracy, their traits and their foibles, as well as insights into the desire of forward-looking members of that group to alter for the better their goals and their image. And since Clarendon was supremely a man of his time, his Dialogue has the greater value as an historical document.⁷

Milton was more a man for all seasons. He tackled problems in an independent way that caused him frequently to be labelled "radical". He did not even get through his first year at Cambridge without betraying his inability to conform to conditions that he considered wrong. These attitudes may have been engendered in part by the liberalising atmosphere of his early upbringing, and by the years he spent at St. Paul's School. It would appear, too, that Thomas Young, his first teacher, and second "father" (as Milton later called him), exerted considerable influence upon him as a boy. To Young is attributed Milton's introduction to the depths and awful implications of the parable of the talents, which held such strong appeal for him and to which he refers time and again. The ways in which his works -- not least Of Education -- have been praised, criticised, analysed, and annotated, are surely an indication that here is to be found something of lasting value. This is ^{so,} because Milton's radical protest was never self-oriented; it was always aimed at bettering the lives of Englishmen. Most of his prose works were public tracts, and many have proved to

⁷Yet Lawrence Stone, who in The Crisis of the Aristocracy 1558-1641 (Oxford, 1965), is "examining attitudes of mind and behaviour patterns" of the aristocracy, does not refer to the Dialogue, which most revealingly exposes some of these very points.

contain truths that, being absolute, are not subject to the vagaries of whim or fashion. The basic principle underlying the Tractate, the primary need for order and inner discipline in education, may yet prove to be one of these to an age that has "spirit and capacity enough to apprehend".

Whatever their differences, most of those who sought to reform English education during the revolutionary period held certain things in common: a belief in the worth of the educational process as a means of saving man from himself; an expectation that it might ultimately help to inaugurate the millennium; a hope that its utilitarian benefits might the more rapidly bring about a society, in which if not all were to be equal, at least many would be less unequal than hitherto. These aspirations and ideals the reformers commonly shared, and in their schemes tried to make them concrete. In their proposals they insisted that all learning should be pleasant; that language, because of its vital importance, should be taught by an improved and simpler method; and that education should continue throughout life. All they suggested was sincerely offered in the context of the Christian ethic, all with the consciousness of working "ever in [the] great task-Master's eye". More than anything, perhaps, this is what gives unity to their lives and works, projects and projectors alike, and indelibly impresses their integrity.

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